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Εν ΟΞΟΝΙΑ.

Ετει αψξη'

Funeral Eulogies

Upon MILITARY MEN

from

THUCYDIDES, LYSIAS,
PLATO, XENOPHON.

In the Original Greek.

To which are added

Extracts from CICERO.

With Obſervations and Notes in Engliſh.

The Second Edition.

OXFORD,
At the THEATRE. 1768.

H Gravelot inv. C Grignion Sculp

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

ΟΙΔΕ πάτρας ἕνεκα σφετέρας, εἰς δῆριν ἑλόντες
Οπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.
Μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος, οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
Ψυχάς, ἀλλ' αἶσαν κοινὸν ἕλοντο βεβῶν,
Οὕνεκεν Ελλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θῶνται
Δουλοσύνης τυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.
Γῶια δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τὰ πλεῖστα καμόντων
Σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς οὐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις.
Μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ὅστι Θεῶν, καὶ πάντα κραδαῖνειν
Εν βιοτῇ· μοῖραν δ' οὔτι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.

*

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
Ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

* * * * * * * * * *

Μνῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,
Μάντιος· ὃς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς,
Οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

* * * * * * * * *

Τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων
Εὐκλεὴς μὲν ἁ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ
Πότμος, βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος
Πενθόντων τε μνᾶσις· ὁ δ' οἶτος
Ἔπαινος. ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον
Οὔτ' εὐρὼς, οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ
Ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.
Ὁ δὲ σηκὸς οἰκητὰν εὐδοξίαν
Ἑλλάδος εἵλατο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ Λεωνίδας
Ὁ Σπάρτας βασιλεὺς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν
Λελοιπὼς κόσμον, ἀέναόν τε κλέος.

PREFACE.

THE world is in a manner agreed about the uſefulneſs of Claſſical Authors for forming a juſt taſte both of ſentiment and ſtile.—Perhaps the truth of this obſervation would ſtrike young Gentlemen more ſenſibly, and raiſe in them a ſpirit of cloſer application to their ſtudies, if the ſubject-matter treated of in thoſe Authors was now and then brought home to and enforced upon their apprehenſions. The occurrences in common life afford frequent occaſions of doing this; and paſſages may from time to time be ſelected ſufficient to illuſtrate by their ſimilitude what every man both ſees and feels: And if they are pertinent and well worked up, the ſhortneſs of them ought to be no objection; ſince thereby they will neither burden the pocket, nor overcharge the attention.

The three following Orations were ſpoken, or ſuppoſed to be ſpoken, at *Athens*, making part of a noble and uſeful ſolemnity, inſtituted in honour of thoſe who loſt their lives in the ſervice of their Country. *Thucydides*, B. ii. has given a particular account of the ſolemnity, which I have therefore prefixed by way of Argument to the Whole.

The *firſt* Oration was ſpoken by *Pericles* at the time of his having the adminiſtration of the *Athenian* affairs under his direction, after the firſt campaign of a long and bloody war, wherein all *Greece* and its neighbouring States were engaged, under the *Athenians* on the one ſide and the *Lacedæmonians* on the other: It contains a Panegyrick upon the *Athenian* people and government: The character to which that of the *Athenians* is put in contraſt is intended for the *Lacedæmonians*. As it is not to be diſſembled that the Orator does now and then deviate a little from truth in his reflections in order to flatter his Countrymen, ſo neither is it to be wondered that a ſpeaker in *Pericles*'s circumſtances, before a popular audience, ſhould take this method to enflame their paſſions of hatred and contempt towards a dangerous rival in power and glory.

The *ſecond* and *third* Orations are to the ſame purpoſe; they contain moreover a ſketch of the *Athenian* Hiſtory regularly deduced, till about fifty-two years before the death of *Philip* of *Macedon*; by whom the fatal ſtroke was given to the Liberties of *Greece*.———They have ever been reckoned among the more valuable remains of *Greek* Learning: And the maxims of good ſenſe and publick ſpirit with which they abound muſt give pleaſure to every judicious reader.

It was from this conſideration that I thought it not unbecoming my employment as a Tutor, during the War 1746, to publiſh them with explanatory Notes, Hiſtorical and Critical. Hereby, as by a ſtriking example, I thought I was pointing out the uſefulneſs of Claſſical Studies, and convincing young people

people of the ſubſtantial advantages to be derived from thence. For ſurely if they aim at energy or propriety of Diction, elegance of Diſpoſition, or juſtneſs of Sentiment, they ſhould habitually inure themſelves to the accuracy of verbal criticiſm in the exerciſe of cloſe tranſlation: Hereby they will inſenſibly transfuſe into their own compoſitions the beauties of the Claſſicks. It was by this kind of working upon the *Greek* models, that the *Roman* writers formed their taſte. I have in my notes pointed out ſeveral inſtances, wherein *Salluſt* and *Cicero*, &c. have copied not only the ſentiments, but the very expreſſions of theſe orations.———But the young Student muſt not reſt here: He muſt at the ſame time pay a proper, a much greater, attention to other Studies; he muſt enrich his imagination, he muſt ſtrengthen and correct his judgment, by the liberal ſciences and modern hiſtories. And uſing theſe means it will not be long before he may venture to enlarge his flight, and judge for himſelf, how far antient repreſentations, whether hiſtorical or political, under a ſimilitude of circumſtances, may be adapted to the preſent times: Thence he will naturally proceed to draw forth into common uſe ſuch precedents, as may be regarded with reverence, and followed with ſucceſs: And in ſhort, whenever there ſhall be a call for the exertion of great talents as ſpeakers or actors, upon the ſcene of public tranſactions, ſuch perſons will exemplify in what they ſay and what they do, that rich vein of good ſenſe and excellent obſervations with which Claſſical authors abound. And for their encouragement, we may appeal to many bright examples, in this and preceding ages, for the happy influence of theſe

ſtudies in giving that ſuperiority, both in debate and action, which perſons thus educated have ever maintained.

But, prejudiced as I am in favour of the general plan and ſubject-matter of theſe Orations, I think proper to obviate ſome wrong impreſſions which may ariſe from them, and to hint at ſome advantages which We evidently enjoy beyond the celebrated Claſſick times, whether *Grecian* or *Roman*.

Here then, a very juſt exception may be taken to the rough treatment, which *Pericles* is repreſented, towards the end of his Oration, as uſing towards the female part of his audience—a treatment not eaſy to be reconciled with that good ſenſe, generoſity, and politeneſs which the *Greek* hiſtorians repreſent to be leading parts in the character of *Pericles*. Be it that modeſty and reſerve * were deemed ſo eſſential to a well-bred lady among the *Athenians*, that ſhe rarely could make her appearance with decency beyond the limits of her own apartment, yet, on this melancholy occaſion, mothers, daughters, and ſiſters were called forth into public view as it were by ſolemn invitation, and therefore had the public ſecurity for being protected from inſult.—And highly diſreſpectful, if not inſulting, it was in the Orator by a dark and ambiguous admonition to reproach them for giving a vent to that tenderneſs of affection, for which the female heart is peculiarly turned, and which it ſhould ſeem to have been one conſiderable part of his buſi-

* Materfamilias—in Græcia—nec in celebritate verſatur—neque in convivium adhibetur niſi propinquorum, neque ſedet niſi in interiore parte ædium, quæ *gynæconitis* appellatur, quo nemo accedit, niſi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.—*Corn. Nepos* in Præf.

neſs

neſs to excite and encourage. Add to this, that, none being ſo deeply affected in the happineſs of their future lives by that calamity which the Orator had undertaken to deplore, every humane diſpoſition would be apt to pity and excuſe, if not commend them, for being hurried into a tranſport of grief, however irkſome others might find it to behold. Let it then be a ſufficient cenſure of this paſſage to ſay, that *Pericles* was one of thoſe ſtateſmen, who had got above the feelings of domeſtic tenderneſs; a character that ſufficiently accounts for many of thoſe diſtreſſing calamities which befell the *Athenians* in the *Peloponneſian* war during his adminiſtration.

Again, we may juſtly wonder that the wiſe *Socrates* ſhould be introduced as ſpeaking with ſo much futility as we find towards the beginning of *Plato*'s Oration. (For though the Oration be repreſented in the Dialogue as coming from *Aſpaſia*'s mouth, either He or *Plato* are anſwerable for the ſentiments there adopted.)—All we can ſay is this, that a popular audience having their local prejudices, the Orator condeſcended to flatter them in that particular, and ſpoke frivolouſly, in order that he might appear not quite out of character as an *Athenian*.

The ſame apology muſt be made, ſo far as any can, for his encouraging his countrymen in their ambition and oppreſſiveneſs, and in the inveteracy of their hatred towards *Barbarians*; whom they firſt ſtigmatized with an opprobrious name, and then, in virtue of it, thought themſelves at liberty to uſe them cruelly.—A maxim, which, by their horrid enormities and mercileſs devaſtations in war, one would think ſome nominal Chriſtians too had adopted, thereby

thereby *diſgracing that holy name whereby they are called!*—What other judgment can we form of the barbarities exerciſed by the *Spaniards* in *America*—by Papiſts in general, whenever they have power ſufficient, againſt Proteſtants?——What, of thoſe ſcenes of military execution that were exhibited throughout *Germany* near a century and half ago—which were afterwards renewed by the *French* in the *Palatinate?*—and What of many horrible exactions practiſed in the late Wars throughout *Germany?* But, be our enemies who they will; nay, be their provocations ever ſo great, *Britiſh* good-nature, and much more *Chriſtian* charity, muſt ſhudder at thoſe dreadful evils which the moſt neceſſary war brings on both parties. To ſay nothing of the toils and difficulties to which even the victorious are expoſed, Who can reflect upon the miſerable deaths of ſuch multitudes of human creatures, upon the innumerable diſtreſſes of innocent families, the afflictions of relations and friends, the inhumanities, and wickedneſſes of every kind, which are the common attendants of war, and not burn with an honeſt indignation againſt the authors of ſuch calamities; who have no bowels, no conſcience to remonſtrate againſt offering ſo coſtly a ſacrifice to the idols of their own reſentment, ambition and avarice!——That the lives of mankind ſhould be no more valued than the ammunition which is employed for their deſtruction,—that they ſhould be conſidered as a part of it, is indeed a mortifying conſideration, altogether irreconcileable with the ſuppoſition of a real dignity in human nature.——But for our comfort, both Reaſon and Chriſtianity conſpire to aſſert this dignity: and in proportion as the contrary principle

is

is maintained, we commonly ſee the character of military men debaſed with every profligacy of Morals, the moſt abandoned impurity, the moſt relentleſs cruelty.

Again, with regard to *Athenian* liberty—the charms of which are ſo much heightened, and the love of which is ſo pathetically inculcated throughout theſe Orations—have we not ſometimes ſeen men hurried into ſuch viſionary notions of Liberty as may endanger it to deſtruction, diſſolving that union between the ſeveral parts of our happy conſtitution, to which we owe our hopes of its future ſtability, and from which we derive our preſent happineſs?—ſuch happineſs! that with all the burthens we complain of and lament, there is not a nation upon earth with which any reaſonable man amongſt us can be willing, on reflection, to change conditions; at leaſt a little experience would ſoon convince him of the badneſs of ſuch a choice.

In the hiſtory of *Athens*, and particularly of that war in which the Oration of *Pericles* was ſpoken, we ſee much national wealth and many private conveniencies much abuſed by luxury and extravagance:—— Great men hereby bringing themſelves into difficulties, and endeavouring to relieve their perſonal diſtreſſes by involving their country in greater. All having the ſame part in the legiſlature, we ſee ingenious men often vaunting themſelves in ſpecious and pompous appearances of public ſpirit; and thereby procuring ſhelter for ſelfiſh projects, for corruption and treachery. While All aſpired to a larger ſhare in the direction of public affairs, we ſee them loſing all equitable temper one towards another, fierce in their contentions, diſhonouring

honouring worthy characters, and driving them from their ſtations; and thereby bringing to themſelves perpetual diſcomfort within, while expoſed to moſt alarming dangers, till at length they were brought to ruin from without.

Well therefore may we rejoice in that excellent combination*, whereby the ſeveral parts of the *Britiſh* conſtitution are peculiarly adapted to anſwer the great purpoſes of men's ſubmitting originally to government; namely, the ſecuring our public independence from foreign invaſions, and our perſonal rights from mutual encroachments. Far from repining at our dependency as Subjects (which is indeed no more than our being referred as members of ſociety in a beautiful ſubordination to our head—as the ſeveral individuals to a common centre of union) well may we honour the memories of thoſe Princes who aſcertained our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and have ſince made it their glory, by a mild and juſt government, to ſecure to us the perpetuity of theſe invaluable bleſſings.

But further, when we ſmile, as ſmile we muſt, to ſee the wiſe *Socrates*, with an air of ſerioufneſs, reciting the legendary tales of *Athenian* ſuperſtition, let it not be the diſdainful ſmile of profaneneſs, pronouncing "all religions to be the ſame." It is the height of ignorance and folly, not to know and feel the difference; of diſingenuity, not to acknowledge it. Nay, *Socrates* himſelf, upon another more ſerious

* We may with pleaſure review the picture of our civil eſtabliſhment, in that draught which *Polybius* (B. 6.) hath ſtruck out in theory as the perfection of human government.

occaſion,

occaſion, is introduced * lamenting the imperfection of that religion which he practiſed; at the ſame time expreſſing his expectations that God himſelf, by a particular revelation in future time, would ſupply the defect. And it is our happineſs to enjoy that object of his wiſhes,—a religious diſpenſation, the moſt rational and worthy of God, the moſt humane and beneficial to mankind; confirmed by a variety of the ſtrongeſt proofs; full of purity in it's precepts, of awfulneſs in it's threatnings, and comfort in it's promiſes; thus directing and ſupporting each perſon ſeparately, and at the ſame time endearing the members of civil ſociety to each other, by the union it enjoins of the ſame worſhip, with the profeſſion of the ſame belief and the ſame hopes.

Yet upon the whole, notwithſtanding the abovementioned exceptions, there are few *Britiſh* readers but will take a pleaſure in reviewing theſe monuments of *Athenian* patriotiſm; happy if they go on † to invigorate and refine their own, upon chriſtian principles!

Influenced by theſe, they will, amongſt other fruits of them, thank God, for having from time to time ſupported our Sovereigns in the magnanimous reſolution to vindicate the juſt rights of their ſubjects both Civil and Religious, under circumſtances moſt diſcouraging and moſt affecting to every humane and generous diſpoſition, and for having ſo often bleſſed thoſe meaſures with important ſucceſſes.

To thoſe likewiſe, who have been to us the providential inſtruments of this ſecurity, will there be due

* See *Plato*'s ſecond *Alcibiades*.

† Excellent helps for this purpoſe may be received from the *Sermons preached in the courſe of the war* 1741, &c. by Archbiſhop *Sharp*.

a large tribute of thankfulneſs. Studious men eſpecially, the more unable they feel themſelves either to ward off the miſchiefs of war, or to find ſupport under them, the more hearty ſhould they ever be to concur with their fellow-ſubjects in every proper act of gratitude towards military Commanders, of honour to their perſons while living, and of reverence to their memories when dead.

Neither yet ſhould the merit of inferior inſtruments, the common Soldiers and Seamen, paſs unnoticed or unrewarded. Whatever compaſſionate regard can be ſhewn to them, in their ſeaſon of toil and danger; whatever relief can be given, or comfort adminiſtered to their Wives and Children, theſe are duties incumbent on us from principles, I will not ſay merely of Chriſtian charity, but of common juſtice.

The *Britiſh* legiſlature, by the largeneſs of it's ſtated proviſion, and by it's occaſional bounties, to perſons engaged in military ſervice, hath given repeated teſtimony to the truth and importance of this ſentiment.

If *Athens* ſhewed any true policy in the eſtabliſhment of her *Prytaneum*; if *Rome*, in her many encouragements of valour and induſtry; particularly in making a judicious diſtribution of ſpoils taken from the enemy,—in aſſigning to emerit ſoldiers ſuch portions of conquered countries as might at once afford to them the means of comfortable ſubſiſtence, and add ſecurity to her colonies,—in erecting monuments to the dead,—in votes of triumph and thanks to the living;—the ſame ſchemes of policy have been with equal wiſdom, and more than equal generoſity, adopted among ourſelves. Princely fortunes have been raiſed, princely palaces have been built, ſometimes by the expreſs command and munificence of our legiſlature,

—ſometimes

—ſometimes in virtue of that transfer which it hath ſolemnly made of thoſe ſpoils, which by regular courſe of antient law and cuſtom would have accrued to the public treaſury;——Votes of thanks—*a moſt honourable fame*—have been decreed;—*Altars of virtue* have been erected to perpetuate the memory of eminently gallant commanders. And while the pompous edifices of *Chelſea* and *Greenwich* ſhall ſubſiſt, every Briton muſt reflect with pleaſure that his Country is no leſs unrivalled in her care and gratitude towards her brave ſoldiers and ſeamen, than Foreigners, from frequent experience, have found reaſon to acknowledge them to be ſuperior in the exertion of perſonal courage and activity.

Nor hath our Country, by any unmindful neglect, paſſed over the helpleſs Orphans and Widows of thoſe to whom ſhe owes her ſafety. The generoſity and prudence of her appointments for the Widows of Officers, according to their ſeveral ranks, is well known. And the ſolemnity of her declaration, with reſpect to the lower claſſes, is worth attending to. 7 & 8 *Will.* c. 21. 1696.

Whereas the ſtrength and ſafety of his Majeſty's realms and dominions do very much depend upon the furniſhing and ſupplying his Majeſty's royal navy with a competent number of able men for that ſervice;—and whereas the ſeamen of this kingdom have for a long time diſtinguiſhed themſelves throughout the world by their induſtry and ſkilfulneſs in their imployments, and by their courage and conſtancy manifeſted in engagements for the defence and honour of their native country: And whereas, for an encouragement to continue this their reputation, and to invite greater numbers of his Majeſty's ſubjects to betake themſelves to his ſervice by ſea, it is fit and reaſon-

able that ſome competent proviſion ſhould be made, that ſeamen, who by age, wounds or other accidents, ſhould become diſabled for future ſervice, and ſhall not be in a condition to maintain themſelves comfortably, may not fall under hardſhips and miſeries, but be ſupported at the public charge, and that the children of ſuch diſabled perſons, and alſo the widows and children of ſuch as ſhall happen to be ſlain, killed or drowned in his Majeſty's ſervice, may, in ſome reaſonable manner, be provided for and educated till they are fit to be put out, or of ability to maintain themſelves, Be it therefore enacted, that every diſabled ſeaman (qualified as in the Act is deſcribed) *ſhall upon* (due) *certificate be admitted and placed in the ſaid hoſpital, and ſhall have provided and allowed unto him during his life at the charges of the ſaid hoſpital, and out of the revenues thereof, according to the rules, &c. thereof, fitting and convenient lodging, meat, drink, cloathing, and other neceſſaries and conveniencies; and alſo the widows of ſuch ſeamen, and alſo their children ſhall be received into the ſaid hoſpital, and there be provided for, and the children ſhall be educated till they are fit to be put out, or of ability to maintain themſelves; all which ſhall be done ſo far forth as the ſaid hoſpital ſhall be capable to receive them, and as the revenues thereof will extend for the purpoſes aforeſaid, &c. &c.*

Can any thing carry a ſtronger evidence of reaſon—a higher praiſe of benevolence than this declaration of our common Parent? And doth it not contain a virtual exhortation, that, in whatever degree the public proviſion ſhall be found incompetent to anſwer the whole purpoſe which She graciouſly intends, her children, one amongſt another ſhould ſupply the defect, as proper objects of their pity and beneficence ſhall occaſionally be preſented to their views?

That

That *Britiſh* hearts are ſo remarkably exuberant in acts of beneficence we may juſtly aſcribe to the purity of that benevolent religion which we profeſs:—the influence of which will make itſelf felt even by thoſe who are leſs ſpeculatively attentive to the evidence and reaſons upon which it is founded.—But as to prudential methods of exerting this beneficence moſt effectually for the public ſervice, theſe are to be derived, at leaſt they may admit of great improvement, from the ſtudy of thoſe inſtitutions, which, upon trial, have approved their excellence, and which, for this amongſt other reaſons, recommend the hiſtories of civilized people to our regard.

After all, though the martial ſpirit is in ſome degree vital to our Country, yet it may ſometimes riſe too high; it may be overbearing and arrogant; it may hurry young men of ſprightly genius prematurely into its tide of fury and violence. With regard to this latter caſe, all ingenuous perſons will ſuffer their youthful warmth to be moderated by the advice of judicious friends;—both for their own ſakes, and for that of the Publick: for their own, that they may be aſſiſted by them in chuſing the moſt likely methods to obtain what they aim at; and for the Publick, in order to prevent the miſchiefs, whereby well-meaning perſons of no experience ſometimes fruſtrate the very end which they intend to promote. And conſidering how much the happineſs of other people may be affected by men, whoſe circumſtances of birth and fortune place them in a high degree of eminence, it is a matter of public conſequence, that ſuch ſhould always improve the precious opportunity of taking time to diſcipline both their underſtandings and

and morals, before they * enter into military life. This privilege is perhaps one of the moſt valuable belonging to an ample fortune; and, if loſt in its proper ſeaſon, is ſcarce afterwards to be regained. The loſs indeed is ever felt ſeverely both by themſelves and by their Country. For their minds having been defrauded of proper culture, they become ſelf-opinionated and vehement: they learn to deſpiſe many valuable accompliſhments for which they have no reliſh, and even to diſregard ſome parts of our national conſtitution, merely becauſe they do not underſtand it; unhappily in the mean time miſtaking their own ignorance for largeneſs of thinking, and the perverſeneſs, which ariſes from thence, for ſpirit and reſolution. Certain it is, that hiſtory affords illuſtrious examples of men whoſe courage and conduct in battle have not been a whit leſs diſtinguiſhed for their having firſt compleated a courſe of literary education, before they entered the camp as Soldiers. Among the *Greeks* and *Romans* we have the memorable inſtances of *Xenophon* and *Lucullus*; and in our own country, though modern names might be brought into view, I content myſelf with mentioning the accompliſhed Sir *Philip Sidney*, with the gallant and renowned Sir *Walter Raleigh*, referring for others to Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory of the Civil War.

It is undoubtedly for the Soldiers' (I mean the Officers') own comfort to have his mind cultivated by Science: This it is which muſt prepare him for Ac-

* Μέχρι μὲν ἥβης κηφοτέρᾳ γυμνασίᾳ προσοιστέον. ὅταν δ' ἀφ' ἥβης ἔτη τρία τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθήμασι γένωνται, τότε ἀρμόττει τοῖς πόνοις καταλαμβάνειν τὴν ἐχομένην ἡλικίαν· ἅμα γὰρ τῇτε διανοίᾳ καὶ τῷ σώματι διαπονεῖν ὰ δεῖ.

Ariſtot. Pol. l. 8. c. 4.

tion,

tion, and afterwards, in the intervals of eaſe, ſupply him with matter of rational employment: this alone can temper that ferocity, which, (however neceſſary to be ſometimes aſſumed in the courſe of military operations) if not mollified by Science, too commonly degenerates into Brutiſhneſs: It is This, which muſt convince him of the reaſonableneſs of that ſubordination, in which the conſtitution of our Country hath placed the Military departments beneath the Civil.

Highly fitting it is ſurely, that thoſe ſhould principally direct this dreadful engine of war, who regard as their firſt object the welfare and not the deſtruction of mankind;—that the ſame hand which deals out the protection of Law ſhould alone be intruſted to deliver out commiſſions for killing and deſtroying, and to controul the courſe of military operations, ſaying, Hitherto ſhall they proceed and no further, Here ſhall their proud ravages be ſtayed.

And indeed, Tyrants excepted, what Soldier, capable of reaſonable reflection, doth not ſhudder at the work of his own employment? What generous mind, after finiſhing the largeſt range of Conqueſt, can help lamenting over the ruins of military devaſtation, or wiſhing for that happy time which ſhall reſtore the Arts of Peace, annul the dictates of arbitrary Power, and give to civil Laws their benign energy? For it is under the influence of theſe, that every kind of rational enjoyment attains its ſecurity: here alone can be felt unſullied pleaſures of ſympathizing with friends and families in the delights of domeſtick tenderneſs and mild affection. Nor let it be forgotten, that from this connexion with Civil Polity the Military character borrows its higheſt dignity,

nity,* of being truly beneficial to mankind,——a dignity, which is vainly ſought for in the glitterings of equipage, the pride of pomp and pageantry and parade,—and is no leſs vainly aſſumed by the terrors of fierce looks, inſulting menaces, and overbearing outrage. Laſtly, it is from this connexion alone, that the Soldier hath principles to juſtify his Profeſſion, and ſatisfy his doubts concerning the lawfulneſs of his Calling. For thus he may reaſon, "Shocking "as my employment appears, and hard to recon- "cile to the feelings of Humanity, yet I ſee its "warranty to be the ſame with that of Civil Go- "vernment. If Magiſtracy be the ordinance of God, "for the preſervation of juſtice among fellow citizens, "uſing the military arm, for repelling the injurious "treatment of foreign enemies, cannot be ſinful. The "Sword, which is delivered to the Magiſtrate by "God for this double Purpoſe, I accept from Him as "his Aſſiſtant in thoſe ſalutary works of public Good. "Regulating my conduct therefore in all other reſpects "by Juſtice, Honeſty and true Honour, I will keep "a Conſcience void of offence towards God and to- "wards Man: My heart ſhall not reproach me with "doing violence, unneceſſary, to any perſon: I will "humbly ſubmit myſelf in the day of battle to the "diſpoſal of God's Providence: He will cover my "head, or reward my being faithful unto death, "by a crown of life in reverſion."

* Δῆλον ὅτι πάσας τὰς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείας κάλας μὲν ἔστιν· ἔχ ὡς τέλος δὲ πάντων ἀκρότατον, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνε χάριν ταύτας. *Ariſtot.* Polit. l. 7. c. 2. See more to the ſame purpoſe, c. 15. Indeed the moral, political, and critical works of this Author cannot be too much recommended.

While the military Profeſſion continues thus generous in its principle and guarded in its exerciſe, it is not condemned by Religion. And Self-love muſt lead us to honour it, from conſidering the want which we may have of its ſervices: For, when the faculty of doing miſchief is improved into an Art, it becomes neceſſary to counteract it in its own way.

We read of times, when men, confiding in their proweſs, ſallied forth from domeſtick quiet, profeſſing to combat difficulties, to redreſs all wrongs, and indeed to take up every quarrel that they met with. Injured innocence, thus aſſiſted, often rewarded theſe adventurers with wealth and preeminence; whoſe ſuppoſed diſintereſtedneſs gave a luſtre to their employment.

If we go up to the fabulous Ages of *Greece*, we find inſtances of this in the Heroiſm of *Hercules*, &c. and in grateful returns which were made to him, and, for his ſake, to his Deſcendants. From the ſame principle it was that Knights of old derived their honour and importance.——Not but that the ſoldier of fortune, Antient as well as Modern, often took upon himſelf to eſtimate the value of his ſervices, inſiſted upon compenſation, and enforced the ſentence of his own pronouncing, by living, as the military phraſe is, at diſcretion. And accordingly, as Juſtice hath not always the greateſt ability to reward her advocates, and, as Tyrants, having the ſpoils of multitudes at command, are commonly the beſt paymaſters, the Courts of *Perſia* and *Ægypt* were the marts moſt frequented by the *Grecian* Traders in war.

From *Xenophon's Hiſtory of the Expedition of Cyrus*, I have given exemplifications of this character, varied

according to the ſeveral tempers and natural diſpoſitions of different men, the Rough, the Liberal, and the Selfiſh. *Clearchus* is the downright Soldier; his aims and fortunes are all turned to Fighting for the ſake of Fighting; punctual himſelf in the obſervance of military Diſcipline, rigorous in his exactions, imperious in command. *Proxenus* is a juſt object of our love and eſteem, a good-natured and accompliſhed Gentleman, in whom the vehemence of the Soldier is ſubdued and ſoftened by the meditation of the Scholar. *Meno* we muſt deteſt as a meer Mercenary, devoid of the principles of common juſtice and humanity, rapacious upon every occurrence of advantage, and brutiſh in the habit of Self-indulgence.

Unwilling to ſwell this Collection too much, I have with ſome reluctance omitted the character of the younger *Cyrus*. In him may be ſeen the true portrait of irregular Ambition, ever attentive to advancement, regardleſs of the ties of affection or obligations of duty; artful in liberality and inſinuating in addreſs; active in projecting of ſchemes, laborious and intrepid in their execution. *Xenophon*'s own character is delineated throughout the ſame pleaſing unaffected Narrative: But the reader is left to collect it from a ſimple detail of thoſe curious adventures in which He was concerned as principal Conductor; and which well deſerve conſideration from thoſe who betake themſelves to the Profeſſion of Arms. For they exhibit an illuſtrious diſplay of prudence and dexterity as well as courage, and above all of mildneſs, modeſty, and benevolence; which latter virtues, in the event of that Expedition appear no leſs productive of Succeſs and Glory, than the other military qualities.

qualities, more commonly to be met with, of boiſterouſneſs and arrogance.

Many of the reflexions which I have made in the former part of this Preface are applicable to the extracts from *Cicero*; and therefore need not be repeated.

It may be preſumed that the young reader of the foregoing Orations will be deſirous of forming to himſelf a plan of the general Hiſtory and Conſtitution of *Greece*, and of *Athens* in particular: I have therefore drawn out, for his aſſiſtance, a Chronological Table of the *Grecian Affairs*; marking with aſteriſks thoſe which are alluded to. And, that he may not, in the mean time, be quite loſt with reſpect to the thread of the *Sacred* and *Roman* Hiſtories, I have from each inſerted ſome principal matters to point out the mutual coincidence of their reſpective affairs. In my Notes I have alſo endeavoured to throw light upon particular paſſages by large references to other writers. In order to render them more uſeful, it ſhould be obſerved that the accounts of the firſt ages of the *Grecian* Hiſtory are repreſented with a mixture of ſo much fable, as to be better ſuited for the extravagancies of Poets, than for the gravity of Hiſtorians.

Apollodorus, an *Athenian*, who flouriſhed *ante Chr.* 138. has left three books of his *Bibliotheca*, which contain a general view of the fabulous traditions concerning the *Athenian* Gods and Heroes before the *Trojan* war.

Herodotus is the moſt antient of the *Greek*, and indeed of all Writers of profane Hiſtory, now extant. He lived about 456 years before *Chriſt*. His Hiſtory

is contained in nine Books, intitled by the names of the nine *Muſes*. Beſides a narrative of the wars of the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, he intermixes by way of digreſſion, and that very largely, ſeveral curious accounts of Antiquities, both *Grecian*, *Aſſyrian*, and *Ægyptian*. He ſays but little of the antient ſtate of *Greece*, and that is to be found chiefly in B. 1. c. 56, &c. and B. 5, c. 58, &c. The parts of his Hiſtory referred to in the Orations of *Plato* and *Lyſias* are to be met with in the ſix laſt Books, *viz.* from *Darius*'s expedition into *Scythia*, to the victory obtained over the *Perſians* at *Mycale* by *Cimon*.

Thucydides was cotemporary with, but about twenty years younger than *Herodotus*. His Hiſtory is comprized in eight Books. The beginning of his firſt Book, viz. c. 2—19. is a ſort of Introduction to his Hiſtory, with a ſketch of the antient ſtate of *Greece*; the remainder of it contains the ſeveral tranſactions which gave occaſion to the *Peloponneſian* war; which continued between 27 and 28 years. The ſeven laſt books of *Thucydides* comprehend almoſt 21 years of that time, and end about 411 years before *Chriſt*.

Xenophon's Grecian Hiſtory is contained in ſeven Books, and includes the ſpace of almoſt 50 years, beginning where *Thucydides* left off, *viz.* in the latter end of the 21ſt year of the *Peloponneſian* war.—The facts referred to in the foregoing Orations are to be met with in the five firſt Books.

Diodorus Siculus lived in the time of *Auguſtus Cæſar*. His Hiſtory is a large and laborious collection of Facts: it is now imperfect. He wrote it in forty Books. The five firſt are ſtill remaining, and contain

tain an account of the *Ægyptian*, *Assyrian*, *Libyan*, *Grecian* affairs before the *Trojan* war.——The 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. are wanting. From the 11th to the end of the 20th, the work is intire: It begins with the account of *Xerxes*'s expedition into *Greece*, and goes down to the year 354 before *Christ*.——The last 20 Books which carried the History on to the times of *Julius Cæsar* are lost. The parts, which may serve to illustrate the Orations, are B. 4, 11, 12, 13, 14.

Strabo flourished in the time of *Augustus* and *Tiberius Cæsar*, and throughout his Geography hath interspersed many historical Memoirs concerning *Greece*.

Cornelius Nepos may be consulted for his account of the several Commanders, who were principally concerned in the *Grecian* Affairs; and also *Plutarch*, who has preserved many rich and uncommon gleanings from Books of ancient History which are now lost:—particularly his Life of *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, *Pausanias*, *Cimon* and *Pericles*, may illustrate part of *Herodotus*, and the first Book of *Thucydides*; those of *Alcibiades*, *Chabrias*, *Thrasybulus*, and *Nicias*, the other Books: with *Xenophon* may be read the lives of *Lysander*, *Agesilaus*, *Artaxerxes*, *Thrasybulus*, *Chabrias*, and *Conon*.

Of *Modern* Books, which have given judicious draughts of the *Grecian* History, the principal are,

Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s History of the World.

Archbishop *Usher's* Annals.

Dr. *Edward Simpson*'s Chronicon Catholicum.

Dr. *Howell*'s General History.

Mr. *Hind* has carried the *Grecian* history down to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war.

Mr. *Stanyan*——to the death of *Philip*.

Mr. *Rollin*——'till the *Grecian* power was intirely sunk in that of the *Romans*.

Dr.

Dr. *Prideaux*, in his Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, was led to treat concerning the *Grecian* affairs, by the relation they bear to those of *Persia*.

Universal History, throughout.

The principal author who hath preserved the notices of *Grecian* Antiquities is *Pausanias*, by birth a *Cappadocian*, who died at *Rome*, as it is supposed, about the year of *Christ* 180. He was a great Traveller and was curious in collecting, all along as he went, accounts of persons, places and buildings.

Johannes Tzetzes, who flourished at *Constantinople* about *A. D.* 1170. hath written a comment upon *Lycophron*, under the name of his brother *Isaac*; which is a curious repository of *Grecian* learning.

The same may be said of several of the other *Scholiasts*, particularly upon *Aristophanes*, and *Apollonius Rhodius*.—A large collection from which kind of writers may be seen in *Suidas*'s Lexicon. See also *Eustathius*'s Comment on *Homer* and *Dionysius*.

Johannes Meursius, Professor of History at *Leyden*, died *A. D.* 1639. He was a large collector, out of different Authors, of such passages as relate to the *Grecian* History and Antiquities, which he has commonplaced under proper heads.

Jac. Gronovius hath collected and methodized a great number of detached pieces relative to this subject, in 13 volumes fol. *Ludg. Bat.* 1697.

See also *Ubbo Emmius* in his *Vetus Græcia*, &c.

Car. Sigonius, *de Repub. Athenienſium.*

Sam. Petitus de Legibus Atticis.

The marrow of these writers is judiciously exhibited in *Archæologia Græca*, by Archbishop *Potter*.

For

For an account of the *Athenian* Government may be consulted *Xenophon de Athenienſium repub. Ariſtoteles Polit.* L. 5. c. 3. *Plutarchus in Theſeo & Solone. Rollin* B. 5. Art. 8. and B. 10. c. 1. Art. 2. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 174, &c. — of the *Lacedæmonian* Government, *Xenophon de Lacedæmon. repub. Plutarchus in Lycurgo. — in Lacon. Inſtit. Cragius de Rep. Lacedæm. Rollin* B. 5. Art. 7. and B. 10. c. 1. Art. 1. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 73, &c.

A full repreſentation of *Roman* Antiquities may be ſeen in *Grævius*'s noble Collection of Treatiſes relative to that ſubject in 12 vols. folio.—The general catalogue of which may be found at the end of the later Editions of Dr. *Kennet*'s ingenious and accurate delineation of the Antiquities of *Rome*, 8vo.

Add *Sam. Pitiſci Lexicon*, 2 vols. folio.

Dr. *Middleton*'s Life of *Cicero*; from whence the Argument prefixed to the Notes on the Extracts from *Cicero* is borrowed.

The reſolution of Grammatical difficulties in the Greek expreſſions will be further illuſtrated from

Fr. Vigerus de Idiotiſmis Gr. Linguæ.

Lambert. Bos de Ellipſibns.

Devarius de particulis Gr. Ling.

With reſpect to the *Chronological Table*, I leave it to Others to controvert the Dates of ſome particular Tranſactions; which are variouſly placed by different Chronologers. But I think proper to obviate a Doubt and Difficulty, which ſometimes perplexes young Students. They are apt to wonder, that the ſacred Hiſtory of the Bible paſſes over in ſilence many tranſactions which are much celebrated by Claſſical Writers, and on the other hand, that in the Claſſicks they ſee not a trace of thoſe affairs which

carry

carry great importance in Holy Scripture. They therefore ſhould know that the Heathen compilers of general Hiſtory are by no means ſilent in matters of Sacred Hiſtory; though their narratives are very erroneous and imperfect; as may be ſeen in ſome parts of *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Juſtin*.

But further, the very Dates of the principal tranſactions of the Old Teſtament ſhew that many of them were paſſed before the Æra of moſt Profane Hiſtories begins. Add to this, that the Claſſical Hiſtories are narratives of the tranſactions of particular nations; thus, *Thucydides* and *Xenophon* relate thoſe of the Greeks; *Salluſt*, *Livy*, &c. thoſe of the Romans; and ſo, in the main, is the ſacred Hiſtory confined chiefly to the *Iſraelites*. But indeed thoſe who are qualified for the ſearch, will diſcover a ſurprizing connexion between the Sacred Hiſtory and the Profane; of which Dr. *Humph. Prideaux* has given many curious Inſtances.

Much more wonderful may it ſeem that the *Greeks* and *Romans*, ſeparated by no great interval of diſtance, ſhould know very little of thoſe contemporary tranſactions, which, in their reſpective Regions, were greatly noiſed and celebrated. But it ſhould be conſidered, that in former times there was no ſuch regular intercourſe of Intelligence between neighbouring countries as is now eſtabliſhed; or, ſuppoſing the tranſactions not altogether unknown to each other, yet the Writers were not led to ſpeak of them.

CHRIST-CHURCH, OXFORD. EDW. BENTHAM.

ideles words sometimes in a stile & dress that almost
ond is a sentence. Every sentence acquaints us with
ing new so that from the multitude of clauses crowd
ter crowded together we should suspect him to be
. but yet so happy so admirable a master is he in y
Expression, so proper, & so full, that we cannot say either
tion doth more illustrate the thing he speaks of
ther his words themselves are not illustrated by th
. So mutual a light do his expressions & subject
on each other. His Diction the great Idole, is never
quate & magnificant, equal to the dignity & sem-
nce of the subject — &c &c — Vide Felton: p: 224
Dudd: 172
8: p: 219 - 227 —

3576 of the world — 428 before Christ

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ
ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Θυκυδ. Ξυγγρ. Β. λδ'.

ΕΝ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι, οἱ Αθηναῖοι τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι, δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποίησαν τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἀποθανόντων, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. τὰ μὲν ὀστᾶ προτίθενται τῶν ἀποτεθνηκότων, σκηνὴν ποιήσαντες, καὶ ὑπτφέρει τῷ αὐτῷ ἕκαστος ἤν τι βούληται· ἐπειδὰν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐκφορὰ ᾖ, λάρνακας κυπαρισσίνας ἄγουσιν ἅμαξαι, φυλῆς ἑκάστης μίαν. ἔνεστι δὲ καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ ἧς ἕκαστος ἦν φυλῆς. μία δὲ κλίνη κενὴ φέρεται ἐστρωμένη τῶν ἀφανῶν, οἱ ἂν μὴ εὑρεθῶσιν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν. ξυνεκφέρει δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων. καὶ γυναῖκες πάρεισιν αἱ προσήκουσαι ὑπὶ τὸν τάφον, ὀλοφυρόμεναι. τιθέασιν οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὅ ἐστιν ὑπὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ προαστείῳ τῆς πόλεως. (καὶ ἀεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, πλὴν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. ἐκείνων δὲ διαπρεπῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναντες, αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν.)

ἐπειδὰν δὲ κρύψωσι γῆ, ἀνὴρ κρινόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὃς ἂν γνώμῃ τε δοκῇ μὴ ἀξυνέτος εἶναι, καὶ ἀξιώματι προήκῃ, λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινον τὸν πρέποντα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπέρχονται. ὧδε μὲν θάπτουσι· καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, ὁπότε ξυμβαίη αὐτοῖς, ἐχρῶντο τῷ νόμῳ. ἐπὶ δ' οὖν τοῖς πρώτοις τοῖσδε Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου ἡρέθη λέγειν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ σήματος ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον, ὅπως ἀκούοιτο ὡς ἐπιπλεῖστα τοῦ ὁμίλου, ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

OI MEN πολλοί τε ἐνθάδε ἤδη εἰρηκότων ἐπαινοῦσι τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς καλὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν. ἐμοὶ δ' ἂν ἀρκοῦν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ δηλουμένων, ἔργῳ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμάς, οἵα καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τόνδε δημοσίᾳ παρασκευασθέντα ὁρᾶτε· καὶ μὴ ἐν ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς κινδυνεύεσθαι, εὖτε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πιστευθῆναι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ὃ μετρίως εἰπεῖν, ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαίως ἔσται. ὁ τε γὰρ ξυνειδὼς καὶ εὔνους ἀκροατὴς τάχ' ἄν τι ἐνδεεστέρως πρὸς ἃ βούλεταί τε καὶ ἐπίσταται νομίσειε δηλοῦσθαι· ὁ τε ἄπειρος, ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι, διὰ φθόνον, εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι. μέχρι γὰρ τῶνδε ἀνεκτοὶ ἐπαινοί εἰσι περὶ ἑτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανός τι δρᾶσαι

n who has been an eye witness of their bravery, & is judicious in
will quickly perceive something wanting in comparison
d he wishes to hear, & knows why & to what end the occasion

ses himself capable of performing the same actions, a
hears related — but whatever is beyond their reach th
immediately disbelieve —

Still more our immediate Fath

of the dead,

καί τι ὧν ἤκουσε· τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φθονοῦσιν, ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πάλαι ὕστερον ἐδοκιμάσθη ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχειν, χρὴ κἀμὲ ἑπόμενον τῷ νόμῳ, πειρᾶσθαι ὑμῶν τῆς ἑκάστου βουλήσεώς τε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν ὡς ὀπιπλεῖστον.

Ἀρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον. δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέπον ἅμα ἐν τῷδε τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην τῆς μνήμης δίδοσθαι. τὴν γὰρ χώραν ἀεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκοῦντες, διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων μέχρι τοῦδε ἐλευθέραν δι' ἀρετὴν παρέδοσαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. κτησάμενοι γὰρ πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο ὅσην ἔχομεν ἀρχήν, οὐκ ἀπόνως ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν προσκατέλιπον. τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς οἵδε, οἱ νῦν ἔτι ὄντες μάλιστα ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ, ἐπηυξήσαμεν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πᾶσι παρεσκευάσαμεν καὶ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ ἐς εἰρήνην αὐταρκεστάτην. Ὧν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν περὶ πολέμου ἔργα, οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτήθη, ἢ αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν Βάρβαρον ἢ Ἑλληνα πόλεμον ὁπόντα προθύμως ἠμυνάμεθα, μακρηγορεῖν οὐκ εἰδότι ὑβλέμματι, ἐάσω. ἀπὸ δὲ οἵας τε ὁπιτηδεύσεως ἤλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτά, καὶ μεθ' οἵας πολιτείας, καὶ τρόπων ἐξ οἵων μεγάλα ἐγένετο, ταῦτα δηλώσας πρῶτον, εἶμι καὶ ὁπὶ τὸν τῶνδε ἔπαινον, νομίζων ὁπί τε τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῆ λεχθῆναι αὐτά, καὶ τὴν πάντα ὅμιλον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων ξύμφορον εἶναι αὐτῶν ἐπακοῦσαι.

Χρώμεθα

Χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτείᾳ οὐ ζηλούσῃ τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους, παράδειγμα δὲ αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον ὄντες τισίν, ἢ μιμούμενοι ἑτέρους. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν, Δημοκρατία κέκληται. μέτεστι δὲ, κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους, πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῳ εὐδοκιμεῖ, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλέον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται· οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων δέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανείᾳ κεκώλυται. ἐλευθέρως δὲ τά τε πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν, καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν, οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας, εἰ καθ' ἡδονήν τι δρᾷ, ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μέν, λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψει, ἀχθηδόνας προστιθέμενοι. ἀνεπαχθῶς δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦντες, τὰ δημόσια διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν, τῶν τε ἀεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει, καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων κεῖνται, καὶ ὅσοι ἄγραφοι ὄντες αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην φέρουσι.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μέν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις δὲ καταστάσεσιν εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει. ἐπεισέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα· καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἡμῖν μηδὲν οἰκειότερα τῇ ἀπολαύσει τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀγα-

θὰ

διὰ τὸ μὴ δίκην - on account of the management not being given, κ, τ, λ.

to pulling on an appearance of offence (being offended) a

real pain, yet is disagreable to behold —

have the pleasure of enjoying not only the goods of our own

th, but also of that of other nations ——

busking not more to the preparations & wiles of Wa

n that spirit with which impelling us to noble action

not singly but with the united force of their Neighbo

the strength of our united force { supra ——

θὰ γιγνόμενα χαρπῶσθαι, ἢ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.

Διαφέρομεν δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν μελέταις τῶνδε. τήν τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν παρέχομεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ξενηλασίαις ἀπείργομέν τινα ἢ μαθήμασιν, ἢ θεάμασιν, ὁ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἄν τις τῶν πολεμίων ἰδὼν ὠφεληθείη· πιστεύοντες οὐ τὰ παρασκευαῖς τοπλέον καὶ ἀπάταις, ἢ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ. Καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις, οἱ μὲ ὀπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει, εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες, τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται· ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι, οὐδὲν ἧσσον ὀπὶ τὸς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωρῦμεν. τεκμήριον δέ· οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθ' ἑκάστους, μὲ πάντων δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύσι· τήν τε τῶν πέλας αὐτοὶ ἐπελθόντες, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμυνομένους μαχόμενοι τοπλείω κρατῦμεν. ἀθρόᾳ τε τῇ δυνάμει ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς πω πολεμίων ἐνέτυχε, διὰ τήν τε ναυτικοῦ τε ἅμα ὀπιμέλειαν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπίπεμψιν. ἢν δέ που μορίῳ τινὶ προσμίξωσι, κρατήσαντές τε τινὰς ἡμῶν, πάντας αὐχοῦσιν ἀπεῶσθαι· καὶ νικηθέντες, ὑφ' ἁπάντων ἡσσῶνται. καίτοι εἰ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ πόνου μελέτῃ, καὶ μὴ μὲ νόμων τοπλεῖον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας ἐθέλοιμεν κινδυνεύειν, ὠφελίμως ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προσκάμνειν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι, μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους τοῦ ἀεὶ μοχθοῦντων φαίνεσθαι.

Καὶ

Καὶ ἔν τε τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἰς θαυμάζεσθαι, καὶ ἔτι ἐν ἄλλοις. φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας, καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας· πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον ἐν καιρῷ ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα· καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινὶ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ, αἴσχιον. Ἔνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα πεπραμμένοις, τὰ πολιτικὰ μὴ ἐνδεῶς γνῶναι. μόνοι γὰρ τόν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα, οὐκ ἀπράγμονα ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤτοι κρίνομέν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα, οὐ τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι μᾶλλον λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ ἃ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν, ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν, ἐκλογίζεσθαι. ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει. κράτιστοι δ' ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθεῖεν οἱ τά τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέστατα γιγνώσκοντες, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων. Καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἠνδρωπώμεθα τοῖς πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ, ἀλλὰ δρῶντες, κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους. βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν, ὥστε ὀφειλομένην δι' εὐνοίας ᾧ δέδωκε σώζειν· ὁ δ' ἀνθοφείλων ἀμβλύτερος, εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδώσων. καὶ μόνοι οὐ τῷ ξυμφέροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ, ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς τινὰ ὠφελοῦμεν.

Ξωνελών

…ever or elegance within due bounds.

…season of good works.

…em, it no disgrace to a man to confess his poverty, bu…

…disgrace, not to endeavour to avoid it.

τῆ πολιτεῖᾳ καὶ τῆς ἐφήβης

…as to those things which proclaim our virtue.

gave any room for complaint
neither shews any endynition to its tribulations, and
they were governd by a state unworthy of empire —

that we have to contend for more than they can prosel
those publick advantages are so different from ours

Ξωνελών τε λέγω, τήν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν τ῀ Ελλάδ῀ παιδεῦσαι εἰ), κ᾽ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον δοκεῖν ἂν μοι τ῀ αὐτὸν ἄνδρα πρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖσ᾽ εἴδη, καὶ μ᾽ χαείτων μάλισ᾽ ἂν εὐτραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὐτάρκες πρ᾽έχεσθαι. κ᾽ ὡς ὐ λόγων ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόμπ῀ τάδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργων ὄ῀ιν ἀλήθεια, αὕτη ἡ δύναμις τ῀ πόλεως ἣν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τρόπων ἐκτησάμεθα, σημαίν῀. μόνη γὰ τ῀ νῦν ἀκοῆς χρείαν ἐς πεῖραν ἔρχε). κ᾽ μόνη οὔτε ὅ῀ πολεμίῳ ἐπελθόντι ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχ῀ ὑφ᾽ οἵων κακοπαθῆ, οὔτε τῷ ὑπηκόῳ κατάμεμψιν ὡς ὐχ ὑ῀ ἀξίων ἄρχε). μ᾽ μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ ὐ δήπου ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν παρεχόμενοι, τοῖς τε νῦν κ᾽ τοῖς ἔπειτα θαυμασθησόμεθα· κ᾽ οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ομήρ῀ ἐπαινέτ῀, οὔτε ὅστις ἔπεσι μὲν τοιαῦτα τέρψ῀, τ῀ δ᾽ ἔργων τ῀ ὑπόνοιαν ἡ ἀλήθεια βλάψ῀· ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν κ᾽ γῆν ἐσβατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ καταναλώσαντες θνέ῀, παντα῀ὸ῀ δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε κἀγαθῶν ἀΐδια ξυγκατοικίσαντες. περὶ τοιαύτης οὖν πόλεως οἵδε τε θναίως, δικαιοῦντες μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι αὐτὴν, μαχόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν, κ᾽ τ῀ λειπομένων πάντα τινὰ εἰκὸς ἐθέλειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κάμνειν.

Διὸ δὴ κ᾽ ἐμοὶ νῦν τὰ περὶ τ῀ πόλεως, διδασκαλίαν τε παιδιᾶ῀ μὴ περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς πῶνδε μηδὲν ὑπάρχ῀ ὁμοίως, κ᾽ τ῀ εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ᾽ οἷς νῦν λέγω φθονερὰν σημείοις καθιστάς. καὶ εἰρη) αὐτῆς τὰ μέγιστα.

μέγιστα. ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ τοιῶνδε ἀρεταὶ ἐκόσμησαν· καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰσόρροπος, ὥσπερ τῶνδε, ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φανείη. δοκεῖ δέ μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν, πρῶτόν τε μηύσασα, καὶ τελευταία βεβαιοῦσα, ἡ νῦν τῶνδε καταστροφή. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς πάλαι χείροσι δίκαιον τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίαν προτίθεσθαι· ἀγαθῷ γὰρ κακὸν ἀφανίσαντες, κοινῶς μᾶλλον ὠφέλησαν, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ἔβλαψαν. τῶνδε δὲ οὔτε πλούτου τις τιμὴ ἔτι ἐπόλαυσιν προτιμήσας ἐμαλακίσθη, οὔτε πενίας ἐλπίδι, ὡς καὶ ἔτι ἀφευγόν αὐτὴν πλουτήσειεν, ἀναβολὴν τοῦ δεινοῦ ἐποιήσατο· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν σθεναιοτέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες, καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα τόνδε κάλλιστον νομίσαντες, ἠβουλήθησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι· ἐλπίδι μὲν ὃ ἀφανὲς τοῦ καθορθώσειν ὑπερέφοντες, ἔργῳ δὲ ἤδη ὁρωμένῳ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιόπιστοι πεποιθέναι· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ᾧ ἐμέλλησαν καὶ παθεῖν, μᾶλλον ἠνησάμενοι, ἢ τῷ ἐνδόντε σώζεσθαι, ὃ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον, ὃ δὲ ἔργον ᾧ σώματι ὑπέμειναν, καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν.

Καὶ οἵδε μὲ προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει τοιόνδε ἐθρήνουν· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρὴ ἀσφαλεστέραν μὲ εὔχεσθαι, ἀτολμοτέραν δὲ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦν τι ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους διάνοιαν ἔχειν, σκοποῦντας

defeating the evil by the good. They have done a greater
ic service than private injury—

natural to poverty.

not judging the usefulness of it from a mere discourse.

a series of misfortunes, after a life of effeminacy, is more
grievous to a man of courage — than —

πῶντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τ' ἀφέλειαν· ἣν ἄντις τοὺς ὅδ' ἐν χεῖρον αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας μιμνύσει, λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι ἀγαθὰ ἔνεστιν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους, καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς. καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξῃ εἶναι, σκοπεῖν ὅτι τολμῶντες, καὶ γιγνώσκοντες τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυνόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκτήσαντο· καὶ ὁπότε καὶ πεῖρα του σφαλείησαν, οὔκουν καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τοσοῦτον ἀρετῆς ἀξιοῦντες στερίσκειν, κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ προϊέμενοι. κοινῇ μὲν τὰ σώματα δόντες, ἰδίᾳ δ' ἀγήρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον, καὶ τὸν τάφον ὑπερλαμπρότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι ἀεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὑπερφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνῃ ὑπογραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἑκάστου τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιαιτᾶται. οὓς νῦν ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες, καὶ τὸ εὐδαίμον, τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δὲ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ εὔψυχον κρίναντες, μὴ περιορᾶτε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους. οὐ γὰρ οἱ κακοπραγοῦντες δικαιότερον ἀφειδεῖν ἂν τοῦ βίου, οἷς ἐλπὶς οὐκ ἔστ' ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολὴ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἔτι κινδυνεύεται, καὶ ἐν οἷς μάλιστα μεγάλα τὰ διαφέροντα, ἤν τι πταίσωσιν. ἀλγεινοτέρα γὰρ ἀνδρί γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἡ ἐν τῷ μὴ τοῦ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις,

ἢ ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητος θάνατος.

Διόπερ καὶ τοὺς τῶνδε νεῶν τοκέας, ὅσοι πάρεστε, οὐκ ὀλοφύρεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθήσασθαι. ἐν πολυτρόποις γὰρ ξυμφοραῖς ἐπίστανται περαφέντες. τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἱ ἂν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσιν, ὥσπερ οἵδε μὲ νεῶν, τελευτῆς, ὑμεῖς τε λύπης· καὶ ἐν οἷς εὐδαιμονῆσαί τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι ξυνεμετρήθη. χαλεπὸν μὲ οἶν οἶδα πείθειν ὄν, ὧν καὶ πολλάκις ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις, αἷς ποτὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγάλλεσθε· καὶ λύπη ἔχ ὧν ἄν τις μὴ πειρασάμενος ἀγαθῶν στερίσκηται, ἀλλ' ἃ ἂν ἐθὰς ἡμόμενος ἀφαιρεθείη. καρτερεῖν τε χρὴ ἐξ ἄλλων παίδων ἐλπίδι, οἷς ἔτι ἡλικία τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι. ἰδίᾳ τε γὰρ τοῦ οὐκ ὄντων λήθη ἐστὶν ἐπιγιγνόμενοί τισιν ἔσονται· καὶ τῇ πόλει διχόθεν, ἔκ τε τοῦ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι, καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ ξυνοίσει. ἃ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἴσον τε ἢ δίκαιον βουλεύεσθαι οἱ ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου παραβαλλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν. ὅσοι δ' αὖ πρεσβύκατε, τόν τε πλείονα, κέρδος ὄν, εὐτυχεῖτε βίον· ἡγεῖσθε καὶ τόνδε βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τῇ τῶνδε εὐκλείᾳ κουφίζεσθε. ὃ γὰρ φιλότιμον ἀνήρων μόνον· καὶ ἔκ ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ κερδαίνειν, ὥσπερ τινες φασί, μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ ὃ πράσσει.

Παισὶ δ' αὖ ὅσοι τῶνδε πάρεστε, ἢ ἀδελφοῖς, ὁρῶ μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα. τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα ἅπας εἴωθεν ἐπαινεῖν. καὶ μόλις

…ctable Death in the midst of youthful Days & Hope …

…profession of which ye yourselves once gloried …

… contribute to its welfare or security …

… you who are already far advanced in years, be happy in …
… greater share of life, as so much gain; —
… of honour alone is never sensible of age. —

… great area of contest prepared for you.

thn notwithstanding you may have a remarkable degr
Virtue, you will scarcely ever be judged equal to the
th something inferiour— For Envy never ceases pur
during rivals— But when the rival is taken off by d
is honord by the victor with affection—

den whatsoever suspects there may be the least
ention or rumour ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ἄλλης ἐντὸς ἀρε

μόλις ἂν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς ὑχ ὅμοιοι ἀλλ' ὀλίγῳ χείρους κριθείητε. φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸν ἀντίπαλον· ὃ δ' μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀναγωνίστῳ εὐνοίᾳ τετιμῆσθαι.

Εἰ δέ με δεῖ καὶ γυναικείας τι ἀρετῆς, ὅσαι νῦν ἐν χηρείᾳ ἔσονται, μνησθῆναι, βραχεῖα παραινέσει ἅπαν σημανῶ. δόξα τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι ῥᾳδίως, ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἡ δόξα, καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἡ φήμη ᾖ τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾖ.

Εἰρηκὼς ἐμοὶ λόγῳ τε νόμων ὅσα εἶχον προσφορα. καὶ ἔργῳ, οἱ θαπτόμενοι, τοὺς μὲν, ἤδη κεκόσμηται· τοὺς δ', αὐτοῖς τοῦτ παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τῆσδε δημοσίᾳ ἡ πόλις μέχρις ἥβης θρέψῃ, ὠφέλιμον στέφανον τοῖσδέ τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομένοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων προτιθεῖσα. ἆθλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖσδε καὶ ἄνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύουσι. νῦν δ' ἀπολοφυράμενοι ὃν πρέπει ἑκάστῳ, ἄπιτε.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

ΜΕΝΕΞΕΝΟΣ,

Η,

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΜΕΝΕΞΕΝΟΣ.

ΕΞ ἀγορᾶς, ἢ πόθεν Μενέξενος; ΜΕ. Ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. ΣΩ. Τί μάλιστα σὺ περὶ βουλευτήριον; ἢ δηλαδὴ ὅτι παιδεύσεως καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τέλει ἥκεις; καὶ ὡς ἱκανῶς ἤδη ἔχων, ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω ὑπονοεῖς τρέπεσθαι; καὶ ἄρχειν ἡμῶν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, ὑπανέρχεις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, τηλικοῦτος ὤν, ἵνα μὴ ἐκλίπῃ ὑμῶν ἡ οἰκία ἀεί τινα ἡμῶν ὑπομελητιῶ περιοῦσα; ΜΕ. Ἐὰν σύγε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐᾷς καὶ συμβουλεύῃ ἄρχειν, πειθόμεσθα· εἰ δὲ μή, οὔ. Νὴ μέντοι ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, πειθόμενος ὅτι ἡ βουλὴ μέλλει αἱρεῖσθαι ὅστις ἐρεῖ ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι. ταφὰς γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι μέλλουσι ποιεῖν. ΣΩ. Πάνυ γε. Ἄλλα τίνα εἵλοντο; ΜΕ. Οὐδένα· ἀλλὰ ἀνεβάλοντο εἰς τὸν αὖριον. οἶμαι μέντοι Ἀρχῖνον ἢ Δίωνα αἱρεθήσεσθαι. ΣΩ. Καὶ μήν, ὦ Μενέξενε, πολλαχοῦ κινδυνεύει καλὸν εἶναι τὸ ἐν πολέμῳ

Vide Note pp: 20.

πολέμῳ ἀποθνήσκειν· καὶ γὰρ ταφῆς καλῆς τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τυγχάνῃ· καὶ ἐὰν πένης τις ὢν τελευτήσῃ, καὶ ἐπαίνῳ αὖ ἔτυχε· καὶ ἐὰν φαῦλος ᾖ, ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ οὐκ εἰκῇ ἐπαινουμένων, ἀλλὰ ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου λόγῳ παρεσκευασμένων· οἳ οὕτω καλῶς ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ προσόντα καὶ τὰ μὴ δεῖ ἑκάστῳ λέγοντες, κάλλιστά πως τοῖς ὀνόμασι ποικίλλοντες, ψυχαγωγοῦσιν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχάς, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγκωμιάζοντες ἅτε πάντας τρόπους, καὶ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας ἐπαινοῦντες. ὥστ' ἔγωγε, ὦ Μενέξενε, ἡνιαίως πάνυ ἐμπίπλαμαι, ἐπαινούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν· καὶ ἑκάστοτε ἔσπουδα ἀκροώμενος καὶ κηλούμενος, ἡγούμενος ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα μείζων καὶ γενναιότερος καὶ καλλίων γεγενῆσθαι. καὶ οἷα δὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἀεὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ ξένοι τινὲς ἐπυθάνοντο καὶ ξυναπρόσωντο πρὸς οὓς ἐγὼ σεμνότερος ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα γιγνόμην. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ταυτὰ ταῦτα δοκεῖν μοι πάσχειν καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, θαυμασιωτέραν αὐτὴν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι ἢ πρότερον, ἐμοῦ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀναπειθόμενοι. καί μοι αὕτη ἡ σεμνότης παραμένει ἡμέρας πλείω ἢ τρεῖς· οὕτως ἔναυλος ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθόγγος πρὸς τοῦ λέγοντος ἐνδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα, ὥστε μόγις τετάρτῃ ἢ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναμιμνήσκομαι ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ αἰσθάνομαι οὖ γῆς εἰμί· τέως δέ οἶμαι μονονοὺχ ἐν μακάρων

νήσοις

νήσοις οἰκεῖν. οὕτως ἡμῖν οἱ ῥήτορες δεξιοὶ εἰσί. ΜΕ. Αεὶ σὺ παραπαίζεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοὺς ῥήτορας· νυνὶ μέντοι οἶμαι ἐγὼ τὸν αἱρεθέντα ὑπάνυ εὐπορήσειν· ἐξ ὑπογυίου γὰρ παντάπασιν ἡ αἵρεσις γέγονεν· ὥστε ἴσως ἀναγκασθήσεται ὁ λέγων ὥσπερ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. ΣΩ. Πόθεν, ὦ γαθέ; εἰσὶν ἑκάστοις τούτων λόγοι παρεσκευασμένοι· καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τάγε τοιαῦτα χαλεπόν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δέοι Αθηναίους ἐν Πελοποννησίοις εὖ λέγειν, ἢ Πελοποννησίους ἐν Αθηναίοις, ἀγαθοῦ ἂν ῥήτορος δέοι τοῦ πείσοντος καὶ εὐδοκιμήσοντος· ὅταν δέ τις ἐν τούτοις ἀγωνίζηται ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ, οὐδὲν μέγα δοκῇ εὖ λέγειν. ΜΕ. Οὐκ οἶσθ', ὦ Σώκρατες; ΣΩ. Οὐ μέντοι, μὰ Δία. ΜΕ. Η οἴει οἷός τ' ἂν εἶναι αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν, εἰ δέοι, καὶ ἕλοιτό σε ἡ βουλή; ΣΩ. Καὶ ἐμοὶ μέν γε, ὦ Μενέξενε, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν, οἴῳ τ' εἶναι εἰπεῖν, ᾧ τυγχάνῃ διδάσκαλος οὖσα οὐ πάνυ φαύλη τὴν ῥητορικήν, ἀλλ' ἥπερ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἐποίησε ῥήτορας, ἕνα δὲ καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν Ελλήνων, Περικλέα τὸν Ξανθίππου. ΜΕ. Τίς αὕτη; ἢ δηλονότι Ασπασίαν λέγεις; ΣΩ. Λέγω γάρ· καὶ Κόννον γε τὸν Μητροβίου. ὅτοι γάρ μοι δύο εἰσὶ διδάσκαλοι· ὁ μὲν μουσικῆς· ἡ δὲ ῥητορικῆς. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τεθρόμμενον ἄνδρα οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν δεινὸν εἶναι λέγειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις ἐμοῦ κάκιον ἐπαιδεύθη, μουσικὴν μὲν ὑπὸ Λάμπρου παιδευθεὶς, ῥητορικὴν δὲ ὑπ' Ανθεμίωνι τῷ Ραμνουσίῳ, ὅμως κἂν ὅστις οἵδε τ' εἴη Αθηναίους

γε

a vòlta gluten - per metafth - comfono -

γε ἐν Αθηναίοις ἐπαινῶν εὐδοκιμεῖν. ΜΕ. Καὶ τί ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν, εἰ δέοι σε λέγειν; ΣΩ. Αὐτὸς μὲν παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ ἴσως οὐδέν. Ασπασίας δὲ καὶ χθὲς ἠκροώμην, συγγινώσῃ θρηνητήριον λόγον περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων. ἤκουσε γὰρ ἅπερ σὺ λέγεις, ὅτι μέλλοιεν Αθηναῖοι αἱρεῖσθαι τὰ ἐρῶντα. ἔπειτα τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα μοι δοκεῖ, οἷα δέοι λέγειν, τὰ δὲ, πρότερον ἐσκεμμένην· ὅτε, μοι δοκεῖ, σπερεῖ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον λόγον ὃν Περικλῆς εἶπε, περιλείμματ' ἄττα ἐξ ἐκείνου συγκολλῶσα. ΜΕ. Ἦ καὶ μνημονευσαις ἂν ἃ ἔλεγεν Ασπασία; ΣΩ. Εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γε. ἐμανθανόν γέ τοι παρ' αὐτῆς· καὶ ὀλίγου πληγὰς ἔλαβον ὅτι ἐπελανθανόμην. ΜΕ. Τί δῆτα δῆλθες; ΣΩ. Αλλ' ὅπως μή μοι χαλεπανεῖς ἢν διδάσκαλος, ἂν ἐξενέγκω αὐτῆς τὸν λόγον. ΜΕ. Μηδαμῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἀλλ' εἰπέ, καὶ πάνυ μοι χαριῇ, εἴτε Ασπασίας βουλῇ λέγειν, εἴτε ὁτουοῦν· ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπέ. ΣΩ. Αλλ' ἴσως μου καταγελάσῃ, ἂν σοι δόξω, γραῦς ὢν, ἔτι παίζειν. ΜΕ. Οὐδαμῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἀλλ' εἰπὲ παντὶ τρόπῳ. ΣΩ. Αλλὰ μέντοι σοί γε δεῖ χαρίζεσθαι· ὥστε κἂν ὀλίγου, εἰ μὲ κελεύοις ἀπαδοντα ὀρχήσασθαι, χαρισαίμην ἄν, ἐπειδή γε μόνω ἐσμέν· ἀλλ' ἄκουε· ἔλεγε γὰρ ὡς ἐγῷμαι, ἀρξαμένη λέγειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πεπνεώτων, ὑπωσί.

ΕΡΓΩ.

ΕΡΓΩ, μὲν ἡμῖν οἶδ' ἔχουσι τὰ πρόσηκοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· (ὧν τυχόντες πορεύονται τὴν εἱμαρμένην πορείαν, προπεμφθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων) λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τὸν λειπόμενον κόσμον ὅ, τε νόμος προστάττει ἀποδοτέον τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ χρή. ἔργων γὰρ εὖ πραχθέντων, λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι μνήμη καὶ κόσμος τοῖς πράξασι γίγνεται πρὸς τῶν ἀκουσάντων. δεῖ δὴ τοιούτου τινὸς λόγου, ὅστις τοὺς μὲν τελευτηκότας ἱκανῶς ἐπαινέσεται, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσιν εὐμενῶς προσενέσει. ἐκγόνοις μὲν καὶ ἀδελφοῖς μιμεῖσθαι τὴν τῶνδε ἀρετὴν παρακελευόμενος· πατέρας δὲ καὶ μητέρας, καὶ εἴ τινες τῶν ἄνωθεν ἔτι προγόνων λείπονται, τούτους δὲ παραμυθούμενος. Τίς οὖν ἂν ἡμῖν τοιοῦτος λόγος φανείη; ἢ πόθεν ἂν ὀρθῶς ἀρξαίμεθα ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινοῦντες, οἳ ζῶντές τε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν εὐφραίνουσι δι' ἀρετήν, καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ τῶν ζώντων σωτηρίας ἠλλάξαντο;

Δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι, κατὰ φύσιν, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ ἐφύοντο, οὕτω καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτούς. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀφ' ὧν τὸ φῦναι ἐξ ἀγαθῶν. τὴν εὐφυΐαν οὖν πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ἐγκωμιάζωμεν· δεύτερον δέ, τροφήν τε καὶ παιδείαν· ὅπῃ δὲ τούτοις, τὴν τῶν ἔργων πρᾶξιν ὑποδείξωμεν, ὡς καλὴν καὶ ἀξίαν τούτων ἀποφήναντο.

Τῆς δ' εὐφυΐας πρῶτον ὑπῆρξε τοῖσδε ἡ τῶν προγόνων φύσις, οὐκ ἔπιλις οὖσα, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτους ἀποφήναμένη

chaid themselves of their survivors by their new Dea

ondi – sequipcat: advena autextraneus. Vide Periclas

f: 8. τὴν γὰρ χώραν κ.τ.λ.

φναιμήν μεδικῶντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἠκόντων, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονας, καὶ τῷ ὅτι ἐν πατρίδι οἰκοῦντας καὶ ζῶντας· καὶ τρεφομένους οὐχ ὑπὸ μητρυιᾶς, ὡς ἄλλοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μητρὸς, τῆς χώρας ἐν ᾗ ᾤκουν· καὶ νῦν κεῖσθαι τελευτήσαντας ἐν οἰκείοις τόποις ἣ τεκύσης ἐς θρεψάσης καὶ ὑποδεξαμένης. Δικαιότατον δὴ κοσμῆσαι τοῦτον τὴν μητέρα αὐτήν. οὕτω γὰρ συμβαίνῃ ἅμα καὶ ἡ τῶνδε εὐθηνεία κοσμουμένη. Ἐστι δὲ ἀξία ἡ χώρα καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ἅ μόνον ὑφ' ἡμῶν· πολλαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, τοῦτον δὲ καὶ μέγιστον, ὅτι τυγχάνῃ οὖσα θεοφιλής. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν τῷ λόγῳ, ἡ τῶν ἀμφισβητησάντων περὶ αὐτῆς Θεῶν ἔρις τε καὶ κρίσις. ἦν δὲ Θεοὶ ἐπῄνεσαν, πῶς οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων γε συμπάντων δικαία ἐπαινεῖσθαι; Δεύτερον δὲ ἔπαινος δικαίως ἂν αὐτῆς εἴη, ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ ἡ πᾶσα γῆ ἀνεδίδου καὶ ἔφυ ζῷα παντοδαπά, θηρία τε καὶ βοτά, ἐν τούτῳ ἡ ἡμετέρα θηρίων μὲ ἀγρίων ἄμοιρος καὶ καθαρὰ ἐφάνη· ἐξελέξατο γὰρ τὰ ζῷα καὶ ἐθρέψατο ἄνθρωπον, ὃ συνίεσή τε ὑπερέχῃ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ δίκην καὶ Θεοὺς μόνον νομίζῃ. μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτι ἥδε ἔτεκεν ἡ γῆ σοὶ τῶνδέ τε καὶ ἡμετέρους προγόνους· πᾶσι γὰρ ὅ τεκὼν τροφὴν ἔχει ὁποτηδεῖαν ᾧ ἂν τέκῃ. ὧν καὶ γυνὴ δήλη τεκοῦσά τε ἀληθῶς, καὶ μή, ἀλλ' ὑποβαλλομένη, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ παιδὸς τροφῆς τῷ θρεψομένῳ. ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ τε καὶ μήτηρ

ἱκανὸν τεκμήριον παρέχει ὡς ἀνθρώπους γεννησαμένη. μόνη γὰρ ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ τῇδε τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἤνεγκε τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν καρπὸν, ᾧ κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα τρέφεται τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ἦθος, ὡς τῷ ὄντι τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον αὐτὴ γεννησαμένη. μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἡ γυναικὸς τροφοῦ δέχεσθαι τοιαῦτα τεκμήρια. οὐ γὰρ γῆ γυναῖκα μεμίμηται κύησίν καὶ ἴησίν, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γῆν. τότε δὲ τοῦ καρποῦ οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἔνειμε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐλαίου φύσιν, πόνων ἀρωγὸν, ἀνῆκε τοῖς ἐκγόνοις. θρεφαμένη δὲ καὶ αὐξήσασα τοὺς ἤδη, ἄρχοντας δὲ διδασκάλους αὐτῶν Θεοὺς ἐπηγάγετο· ὧν τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρέπει ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἐᾶν. ἴσμεν γὰρ οἱ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν κατεσκευάσαντες, τροφούς τε τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δαίτων τέχνας τροφοὺς παιδοσάμενοι, καὶ τροφοὺς τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰς χώρας φυλακὴν ὅπλων κτῆσίν τε καὶ χρῆσιν διδαξάμενοι. φυόντες δὲ καὶ παιδοθέντες ἤτοι ἐκ τῶνδε τροφόνοι, ᾤκουν πολιτείαν κατασκευασάμενοι, ἧς ὀρθῶς ἔχει μνήμας βραχέων ἐπιμνησθῆναι. πολιτεία γάρ, τροφὴ ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ· καλὴ μὲν, ἀγαθῶν· ἡ δὲ ἐναντία, κακῶν.

Ὡς οὖν ἐν καλῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐτράφησαν ἐκεῖθεν ἡμῖν, ἀναγκαῖον δηλῶσαι· δι' ἣν δὴ καὶ κεῖνοι ἀγαθοὶ, καὶ οἱ νῦν εἰσιν, ὧν οἵδε τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες ἐκ τετελευτηκότες. ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ πολιτεία καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ νῦν Αειτοκρατία, ἐν ᾗ νῦν τε πολιτευόμεθα, καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἐξ ἐκείνου ὡς

τα πολλά.

— sometimes by descent, sometimes by election.

to endeavour to preserve

ταπολλά. καλῶ δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτίω, Δημοκρατίαν, ὁ δὲ, ἄλλο, ᾧ ἂν χαίρῃ· ἔστι γὰρ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μετ' εὐδοξίας πλήθους Αριστοκρατία. Βασιλεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ ἡμῖν εἰσιν· οὗτοι δὲ, τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ γένους, τοτὲ δὲ αἱρεθέι. ἐγκρατὲς ἦ τῆς πόλεως ταπολλὰ τὸ πλῆθος· τὰς δὲ ἀρχὰς δίδωσι καὶ κράτος τοῖς ἀεὶ δόξασι ἀρίστοις εἶναι· καὶ οὔτε ἀφανείᾳ, οὔτε πενίᾳ, οὔτ' ἀγνωσίᾳ πατέρων, ἀπελήλαται ὀφθείς, ὀφθὲ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τετίμηται, ὥσπερ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν· ἀλλὰ εἷς ὅρος, ὁ δόξας σοφὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, κρατεῖ καὶ ἄρχει. Αἰτία ἦ ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης, ἡ ἐξ ἴσου γένεσις· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐκ παλαιοδαπῶν κατεσκευασμέναι ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνωμάλων· ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀνώμαλοι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι, Τυραννίδες τε καὶ Ολιγαρχίαι. οἰκοῦσιν οἶμαι, ἔνιοι μὲν δούλους, οἱ δὲ δεσπότας ἀλλήλους νομίζοντες· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι, μιᾶς μητρὸς πάντες ἀδελφοὶ φύντες, οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν δοῦλοι οὐδὲ δεσπότας ἀλλήλων εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἡ ἰσογονία ἡμᾶς ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ἰσονομίαν ἀναγκάζει ζητεῖν κατὰ νόμον, καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπείκειν ἀλλήλοις, ἢ ἀρετῆς δόξῃ καὶ φρονήσεως. ὅθεν δὴ ἐν πάσῃ ἐλευθερίᾳ τεθραμμένοι οἵ τῶνδε πατέρες, καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, καὶ καλῶς φύντες, πολλὰ δὴ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα ἀπεφήναντο εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ· οἰόμενοι δεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ Ελλησιν ὑπὲρ Ελλήνων μάχεσθαι, καὶ Βαρβάροις ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων τῶν Ελλήνων.

Εὐμόλπου

Εὐμόλπου μὲ οἶμαι καὶ Ἀμαζόνων ὁπόσα στρατευσάντων ὁπὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ τῶν ἔτι προτέρων, ὡς ἠμύνοντο, καὶ ὡς ἤμυνον Ἀργείοις πρὸς Καδμείους, καὶ Ἡρακλείδαις πρὸς Ἀργείους, ὅ, τε χρόνος βραχὺς ἀξίως διηγήσασθαι, ποιητά τε αὐτῶν ἤδη καλῶς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐν μουσικῇ ὑμνήσαντες, εἰς πάντας μεμηνύκασιν. ἐὰν οὖν ἡμεῖς ὁπιχειρῶμεν τὰ αὐτὰ λόγῳ ψιλῷ κοσμεῖν, τάχ' ἂν δεύτεροι φαινοίμεθα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἅτε ταῦτα δοκῇ μοι ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἔχει τὴν ἀξίαν. ὧν δὲ οὔτε ποιητής πω δόξαν ἀξίαν ἐπ' ἀξίοις λόγων ἔχει, ἔστι τε ὄντως ἐν ἀμνησίᾳ, τούτων περὶ μοι δοκῇ χρῆναι ὑπομνησθῆναι, ἐπαινοῦντα τε καὶ προμνώμενον τοῖς ἄλλοις, εἰς ᾠδάς τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν αὐτὰς θεῖναι, πρεπόντως τῷ προειρημένων.

Ἔστι δὲ τούτων ὧν λέγω τοιάδε· Πέρσας ἡγεμόνας τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ δουλευμένους τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἔχον ἃ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἔκγονοι, γονεῖς τε ἡμέτεροι. ὧν χὴ δίκαιον καὶ χρὴ πρῶτον μεμνημένους, ἐπαινέσαι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετήν. Δοκῇ δὴ αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν, εἰ μέλλοι τις καλῶς ἐπαινεῖν, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ῥυσμὸν λόγῳ, ὅτε πᾶσα μὲν ἡ Ἀσία ἐδούλευε τότε ἤδη βασιλῆι· ὧν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος, Κῦρος, ἐλευθερώσας Πέρσας τοὺς αὑτοῦ πολίτας τῷ αὐτοῦ φρονήματι, ἅμα καὶ κρατήσας Μήδους ἐδουλώσατο, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας μέχρις Αἰγύπτου ἦρξεν· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὖ, Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ Λιβύῃ, ὅσον οἷόν τε ἦν ἐπιβαίνειν· τρίτος δὲ Δαρεῖος,

πρεσβῆ

...s assisted the Eleusinians against Athens { 2608 — 1396
{ 160. after Cecrops
...ssprung on Theseus's time — Agenus King of Sicyon —
...23 before Christ

...ide Supplices of Euripides —

...14 before Christ —

even their very opinions their very souls were
enslaved_

πεζῇ μὲν μέχρι Σκυθῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο, ναυσὶ δὲ, τῆς τε θαλάττης ἐκράτησε καὶ τῶν νήσων· ὥστε μηδὲ ἀξιοῦν ἀντίπαλον αὐτῷ μηδένα εἶναι. αἱ δὲ γνῶμαι δεδουλωμέναι ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν. οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἐν μάχῃ ἦν καταδεδουλωμένη ἡ τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχή. Αἰτησάμενος δὲ Δαρεῖος ἡμᾶς τε καὶ Ἐρετριέας, Σάρδεσιν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι παρεσκευάζετο, πέμψας μυριάδας μὲν πεντήκοντα ἔντε πλοίοις καὶ ναυσὶ, ναῦς δὲ τριακοσίας, Δᾶτιν δὲ ἄρχοντα, εἶπεν ἥκειν ἄγοντα Ἐρετριέας καὶ Ἀθηναίους, εἰ βούλοιτο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Ἐρέτριαν ἐπ' ἄνδρας οἱ τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς εὐδοκιμωτάτοις ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι, τότε ἐχειρώσατο μὲν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις. διηρεύνησε δὲ αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀποφύγοι τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ· ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἐρετρικῆς οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτῇ, ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν ἁψάντες, συνάψαντες τὰς χεῖρας, διῆλθον ἅπασαν τὴν χώραν, ἵν' ἔχοιεν τῷ βασιλῇ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀδεὶς σφᾶς ἀποπεφυγὼς εἴη. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ διανοίᾳ κατηγάγοντο ἐξ Ἐρετρίας εἰς Μαραθῶνα, ὡς ἕτοιμον σφίσιν ὂν καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ ζεύξαντας Ἐρετριεῦσιν, ἄγειν. τούτων δὲ, τῶν μὲν παραχθέντων, τῶν δ' ὑπεχειρωμένων, οὔτ' Ἐρετριεῦσιν ἐβοήθησεν Ἑλλήνων οὐδείς, οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις, πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων. οὗτοι δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῆς μάχης ἀφίκοντο. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι

πάντες

πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ἀγαπῶντες τὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι σωτηρίαν, ἡσυχίαν ἦγον. Ἐν τούτῳ δὴ ἄν τις γνόμενος οἷοι ἄρα ἐτύγχανον ὄντες τὴν ἀρετὴν οἱ Μαραθῶνι δεξάμενοι τὴν τῶν Βαρβάρων δύναμιν, καὶ κολασάμενοι τὴν ὑπερηφάνειαν ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ θεοῦτοι τὸ σφέτερα τρόπαια τῶν Βαρβάρων· ἡγεμόνες τε καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγούμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἄμαχος εἴη ἡ Περσῶν δύναμις, ἀλλὰ πᾶν πλῆθος καὶ πᾶς πλοῦτος ἀρετῇ ὑπείκει. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἄνδρας φημὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν σωμάτων τῶν ἡμετέρων πατέρας εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς τε ἡμετέρας καὶ ξυμπάντων τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἠπείρῳ. εἰς ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ ἔργον ἀποβλέψαντες, καὶ τοὺς ὑστέρους μάχας ἐτόλμησαν ἀφυνδυνεύειν οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας, μαθηταὶ τοῦ Μαραθῶνι γενόμενοι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀριστεῖα τῷ λόγῳ ἐκείνοις ἀναθετέον· τὰ δὲ δεύτερεῖα, τοῖς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχήσασι καὶ νικήσασι. καὶ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλὰ μὲν ἄν τις ἔχοι διελθεῖν, καὶ οἷα ὑπόντα ὑπέμειναν κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατ' θάλατταν, καὶ ὡς ἠμύναντο ταῦτα. ὃ δέ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκείνων κάλλιστον εἶναι, τοῦτο μνησθήσομαι, ὅτι ὃ ἐξῆς ἔργον τοῖς Μαραθῶνι διεπεράξαντο. ἃ μὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνι τοσοῦτον μόνον ἐπεδείξαντο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι κατ' γῆν οἷόν τε ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς Βαρβάρους, ὀλίγοις πολλούς· ναυσὶ δὲ ἔτι ἦν ἄδηλον. καὶ δόξαν εἶχον Πέρσαι ἄμαχοι εἶναι κατ' θάλατταν, καὶ πλήθει

καὶ

καὶ πλούτῳ, καὶ τέχνῃ καὶ ῥώμῃ. τοῦτο δὴ ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς τότε ναυμαχησάντων, ὅτι τὸν ἐπόμενον φόβον διέλυσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ἔπαυσαν φοβουμένους πλῆθος νεῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν. ὑπ' ἀμφοτέραν δὴ ξυμβαίνῃ, τῶν τε Μαραθῶνι μαχεσαμένων καὶ τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, παιδοῦσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν, χερσὶν γῆν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν, χερσὶ θάλατταν, μαθόντας καὶ ἐθισθέντας μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους. Τρίτον δὲ λέγω ὃ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἔργον καὶ ἀριθμῷ καὶ ἀρετῇ ῥώμης τε Ἑλληνικῆς σωτηρίας· κοινὸν ἤδη τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον καὶ χαλεπώτατον οὗτοι πάντες ἤμυναν, καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὧν τε ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐγκωμάζονται, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑστέρων.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, πολλαὶ μὲν πόλεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπῃσαν μὴ τὸν Βαρβάρου, αὐτὸς δὲ ἠγέμονεύσας Βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ἐπιχειρήσων πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. δίκαιον δὴ καὶ τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐπιμνησθῆναι, οἳ τοῖς τῶν πρότερων ἔργοις τέλος τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέθησαν, ἀναχαιτήσαντες καὶ ἐξελάσαντες πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οἵ τε ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ναυμαχήσαντες, καὶ οἱ εἰς Κύπρον στρατεύσαντες, καὶ ὁπόσοι εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλεύσαντες, ἢ ἄλλοσε πολλαχόσε· ὧν χρὴ μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ χάριν αὐτοῖς εἰδέναι ὅτι Βασιλέα ἐποίησαν δεῖσθαι, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίᾳ τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπι-

βουλεύειν

βουλεύειν φθορᾷ. καὶ ἔτος μὲν διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως διενέμετο ὁ πόλεμος, ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοφύλων, πρὸς τοὺς Βαρβάρους.

Εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης, καὶ τῆς πόλεως πεμπομένης, ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὁ δὲ φιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς εὖ πράττουσι παραπίπτειν, πρῶτον μὲν ζῆλος, ἀπὸ ζήλου δὲ, φθόνος. ὁ καὶ τηνδε τὴν πόλιν ἄκουσαν εἰς πολεμῶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστησε. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο γενομένου πολέμου, συνέβαλον μὲν ἐν Τανάγρᾳ, ὑπὲρ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας Λακεδαιμονίοις μαχόμενοι· ἀμφισβητησίμου δὲ τῆς μάχης γενομένης, διέκρινε τὸ ὕστερον ἔργον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φίλοι ὄντες ἀπόντες, καταλιπόντες Βοιωτοὺς οἷς ἐβοήθουν· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ εἰν Οἰνοφύτοις νικήσαντες, τοὺς ἀδίκως φεύγοντας δικαίως κατήγαγον. οὗτοι δὲ πρῶτοι μετὰ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον, Ἕλλησιν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας βοηθοῦντες πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, καὶ ἐλευθερώσαντες οἷς ἐβοήθουν, εἰν τῷδε τῷ μνήματι πεμπόντες ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτοι ἐτέθησαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, πολλοῦ πολέμου γενομένου, καὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιστρατευσάντων, καὶ τεμόντων τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἀναξίαν ἔργων ἐκπονόντων τῇ πόλει, νικήσαντες αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίᾳ οἱ ἡμέτεροι, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας Λακεδαιμονίους εἰν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπολωλέναι, ἐφείσαντο, καὶ ἀπέδοσαν, καὶ εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο· ἡγούμενοι πρὸς μὲν τὸ

ὁμόφυλον

ὁμόφυλον μέχρι νίκης δεῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ μὴ δι' ἀρχὴν ἰδίαν πόλεως τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων διολλύναι· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Βαρβάρους, μέχρι διαφθορᾶς. Τούτους δὴ ἄξιον ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἳ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον πολεμήσαντες, ὑφάδε κεῖνται, ὅτι ἐπέδειξαν, εἴτις ἄρα ἡμφισβήτει, ὡς οἱ πρὸ τοῦ πρότερον πολέμου πρὸς τοὺς Βαρβάρους ἄλλοι τινὲς εἶεν ἀμείνους Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ ἀμφισβητοῖεν. Ὅτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἔδειξαν, διαπασάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, προειγεόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου, τοὺς προεστῶτας τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων χειρωσάμενοι, μεθ' ὧν τότε τοὺς Βαρβάρους ἐνίκων κοινῇ, τούτους νικῶντες ἰδίᾳ.

Τούτου μὲν οὖν πολέμου μὲν τοιαύτην τὴν ἐρήνην ἀνέλπιστός τε καὶ δεινὸς ἐφύετο· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τελευτήσαντες, ὑφάδε κεῖνται· πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν πλεῦσαι τρόπαια στήσαντες, ὑπὲρ τῆς Λεοντίνων ἐλευθερίας, οἷς βοηθοῦντες διὰ τὸν ὅρκους, ἔπλευσαν εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους· (διὰ δὲ μῆκος τοῦ πλοῦ εἰς ἀπειρίαν τῆς πόλεως καταστάσης, καὶ ἃ δυναμένης αὐτοῖς ὑπηρετεῖν, τούτῳ ἀπειπόντες ἐδυστύχησαν. ὧν οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ πρεσβευσάμενοι πλείω ἔπαινον ἔχουσι σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ φίλοι·) πολλοὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ταῖς καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον, μιᾷ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ πάσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἑλόντες ναῦς, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας νικήσαντες. ὃ δ' εἶπον δεινὸν καὶ ἀνέλπιστον τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι, τόδε λέγω, ὅ

εἰς τοσοῦτον φιλονεικίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὰς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, ὥστε τολμῆσαι τῷ ἐχθίστῳ ὑπακηκοέναι, Βασιλῇ, ὃν κοινῇ ἐξέβαλον μετ' ἡμῶν, ἰδίᾳ τοῦτον πάλιν ἐπάγεσθαι, Βάρβαρον ἐφ' Ἕλληνας, καὶ στασιάσαι ὑπὲ τὴν πόλιν πάντας Ἕλληνάς τε καὶ Βαρβάρους· οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐκφανὴς ἐγένετο ἡ τῆς πόλεως ῥώμη τε καὶ ἀρετή. οἰομένων γὰρ ἤδη αὐτὴν καταπεπολεμῆσθαι, καὶ ἀπειλημμένων ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ τῶν νεῶν, βοηθήσαντες ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶν, αὐτοὶ ἐμβάντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἄνδρες θρόμβοι ὁμολογουμένως ἄριστοι, νικήσαντες μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους, λυσάμενοι δὲ τοὺς φιλίους, ἀναξίου τύχης τυχόντες, οὐκ ἀναιρεθέντες ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης, κεῖνα ἐνθάδε. ὧν χρὴ ἀεὶ μεμνῆσθαί τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων ἀρετῇ ἐνικήσαμεν οὐ μόνον τὴν τότε ναυμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πόλεμον· δόξαν γὰρ δι' αὐτοὺς ἡ πόλις ἔσχε, μήποτ' ἂν καταπολεμηθῆναι μηδ' ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ ἀληθῆ ἔδοξε. τῇ δὲ ἡμετέρᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀφορᾷ κεκρατήθημεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων. ἀπίθησοι γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπό γε ἐκείνων ἐσμέν· ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν καὶ ἡττήθημεν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡσυχίας θρομβώσης, καὶ εἰρήνης πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ὁ οἰκεῖος ἡμῖν πόλεμος οὕτως ἐπολεμήθη, ὥστε εἴπερ εἰμαρμένον εἴη ἀνθρώποις φασιάσαι, μὴ ἂν ἄλλως εὔξασθαι μηδένα πάλιν ἑαυτοῦ νοσῆσαι. ἔκ τε γὰρ Περικλέους καὶ τοῦ Ἀγνος ὡς ἀσμένως καὶ οἰκείως ἀλλήλοις συνέ-

συνέμιξαν οἱ πολῖται, καὶ πρὸ ἐλπίδα τοῖς ἄλλοις Ελλησι, τότε πρὸς τοὺς ὀν Ελευσῖνι πόλεμον ὡς μετρίως ἔθεντο. καὶ τούτων ἁπάντων οὐδὲν ἄλλ' αἴτιον, ἢ τὸ ὅτι ξυγγένεια, φιλίαι βέβαιον καὶ ὁμόφυλον οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πρέχομεν. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων ὑπ' ἀλλήλων μείαν ἔχειν, ἢ ἀφελλάτειν αὐτοὺς ὧ δυνάμεθα, εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις οἷ τοῖσδε τοῖς κρατοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εὐχομένους, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς διηλλάγμεθα. ἃ γὰρ κακίᾳ ἀλλήλων ἥψαντο, ἀδ' ἔχθρᾳ, ἀλλὰ δυσχερείᾳ. μάρτυρες δὲ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐσμὲν τούτων, οἱ ζῶντες. οἱ αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἐκείνοις φημί, συγγνώμαν ἀλλήλοις ἔχομεν ὧν τ' ἐποιήσαμεν, ὧν τ' ἐπάθομεν.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο παντελῶς εἰρήνης ἡμῖν γενομένης, ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῖς μὲ Βαρβάροις συγγιγνώσκουσα, ὅτι παθόντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν κακῶς ἑκανῶς, οὐκ ἐδεῶς ἠμύνοντο· τοῖς δὲ Ελλησιν ἀγανακτοῦσα, μεμνημένη ὡς εὖ παθόντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς, οἵαν χάριν ἀπέδοσαν, κοινωσάμενοι τοῖς Βαρβάροις, τάς τε ναῦς προσιλόμενοι, ἃ πρὸτ' ἐκείνους ἔσωσαν, καὶ τεῖχη καθελόντες, ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμεῖς τοὐκείνων ἐκωλύσαμεν πεσεῖν. Διανοήμην δὲ ἡ πόλις μὴ ἂν ἔτι ἁμῶς μήτε Ελλησι πρὸς ἀλλήλων δουλευμένοις, μήτε ὑπὸ Βαρβάρων, οὕτω φέρῃ. ἡμῖν οὖν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ξυνοίᾳ ὄντων, ἡγησόμενοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μὲν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπιχείρους πεπαυκέναι ἡμᾶς, σφέτερον δὲ ἤδη ἔργον εἶ καταδουλοῦ-

σθαι

θαι τοὺς ἄλλους, ταῦτ' ἐπραξθαι. καὶ μικύνειν μὲν τί δεῖ; ὃ γὰρ πάλαι ὧδε πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονότα λέγοιμ' ἂν τὰ μὴ ταῦτα. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἴσμεν ὡς ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἀφίκοντο εἰς χρείαν τῆς πόλεως τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ Κορίνθιοι· καὶ τόγε θειότατον πάντων, ὃ καὶ Βασιλέα εἰς τῆτο ἀπορίας ἀφικέσθαι, ὥστε δεῖσθαι αὐτῷ μηδαμόθεν ἄλλοθεν τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμέας, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἐβούλετο ἀπόλλυ. καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴπερ βέλτιστο τῆς πόλεως κατηγορῆσαι δικαίως, τῆτ' ἂν μόνον λέγων ὀρθῶς ἂν κατηγορεῖ, ὡς ἀεὶ λίαν φιλοκίνδυνον ὄσι, καὶ τῆ ἥπιανος ἰατρικῆς. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἔχ οἵατε ἐγένετο καρτερῆσαι, οὐδὲ ξυμφυλάξαι ἃ ἐδέδοκτο αὐτῇ, τὸ μηδενὶ δουλουμένῳ βοηθεῖν τῶν σφᾶς ἀδικησάντων· ἀλλὰ ἐκάμφθη, καὶ ἐβοήθησε, καὶ τὰς μὲν Ἑλληνας αὐτὴ βοηθήσασα ἀπελύσατο δουλείας, ὥσ' ἐλευθέρας εἶναι, μέχρις ὧν πάλιν αὐτοὶ αὖτὰς κατεδουλώσαντο. Βασιλῆ δὲ αὐτὴ μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε βοηθήσασα, αἰσχυνομένη τὰ πρόπαια τάτε Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι καὶ Πλαταιαῖς. φυγάδας δὲ τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς ἐάσασα μόνον βοηθῆσαι, ὁμολογουμένως ἔσωσε. τειχισαμένη δὲ καὶ ναυπηγησαμένη, ἐκδεξαμένη τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπειδὴ ἠναγκάσθη πολεμεῖν, ὑπὲρ Παιόνων ἐπολέμει Λακεδαιμονίοις. φοβηθεὶς δὲ Βασιλεὺς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρα Λακεδαιμονίους τῷ κατὰ θάλατταν πολέμῳ ἀπαρρεύοντας, ἐπεθύμησε βουλόμενος, ἐξ ἴσης τοὺς

Ἕλληνας

Ελληνας τὸς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ, (οὕσπερ καὶ τοτὲ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτῷ ἐξέδοσαν, εἰ μέλλοι συμμαχήσειν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις,) ἡγεμὼν οὐκ ἐθελήσειν, ἵν' αὐτῷ περίφασις εἴη τῆς ἀποστάσεως. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐφθάνθη (ἠθέλησαν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐκδιδόναι, ἢ ξυνέθεντο καὶ ὤμοσαν, Κορίνθιοι, ἢ Αργεῖοι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ, ἢ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι, εἰ μέλλοι χρήματα παρέξειν, ἐκδώσειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ελληνας) μόνοι γὰρ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐτολμήσαμεν ἢ ἐκδοῦναι, οὔτε ὀμόσαι. Οὕτω δή τι τόγε τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν καὶ ἐλεύθερον βέβαιόν τε καὶ ὑγιές ἐστι, καὶ φύσει μισοβάρβαρον, διὰ τὸ εἰλικρινῶς εἶναι Ελληνες καὶ ἀμιγεῖς Βαρβάρων. οὐ γὰρ Πέλοπες οὐδὲ Κάδμοι, οὐδὲ Αἴγυπτοί τε καὶ Δαναοὶ, οὐδὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ, φύσει μὲν βάρβαροι ὄντες, νόμῳ δὲ Ελληνες, συνοικοῦσιν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ Ελληνες, οὐ μιξοβάρβαροι, οἰκοῦμεν· ὅθεν καθαρὸν τὸ μῖσος ἐπέπτηκε τῇ πόλει τῆς ἀλλοτριάσεως φύσεως. ὅμως δ' οὖν ἐμνώσθημεν πάλιν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἀνόσιον ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι, Ελληνας Βαρβάροις ἐκδόντες.

Ελθόντες δὲ εἰς ταῦτα ἐξ ὧν καὶ τοτὲ μὲν κατεπολεμήθημεν, σὺν Θεῷ ἄμεινον ἢ τότε ἐθέμεθα τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ γὰρ ναῦς καὶ τείχη ἔχομεν, καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν ἀποικίας, ἀπηλλάγημεν δὲ πολέμου. οὕτως ἀναπεπτῶς ἀπηλλάτ̣ο̣ντο καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι. ἀνθρῶν μὴν τοῖς ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐστερήθημεν, τῶν τε ἐν Κορίνθῳ χρησα-

μένων

μένων δυοχωρίαι, καὶ ἐν Λεχαίῳ, πεζοδοσίαι. ἀγαθοὶ γὰρ οἱ Βασιλέα ἐλευθερώσαντες, ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Θαλάττης Λακεδαιμονίους. ὧν ἐγὼ μὲ ὑμᾶς ἀναμιμνήσκω, ὑμᾶς δὲ παρέπεσθαι ξυμπαινεῖν τε καὶ κοσμεῖν τοιούτους ἄνδρας.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἔργα ταῦτα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τετελευτήκασι· πολλὰ μὲ τὰ εἰρημένα ἐστὶ καλὰ, πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλείω καὶ καλλίω τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα· πολλαὶ γὰρ ἂν ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες οὐχ ἱκαναὶ γένοιντο τῷ τὰ πάντα μέλλοντι διαιρεῖσθαι. τούτων οὖν χρὴ μεμνημένους, τοῖς τούτων ἐκγόνοις παρὰ ἀνδρὶ παιδαγωγεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ, μὴ λείπειν τὴν τάξιν τὴν τῶν προγόνων, μηδ' εἰς τὸπίσω ἀναχωρεῖν, εἰκόντας κάκῃ. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς, ὦ παῖδες ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, νῦν τε παιδαγωγοῦμαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ χρόνῳ, ὅπου ἂν τῳ ἐντυγχάνω ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀναμνήσω καὶ παιδαγωγήσομαι προθυμείας τῆς εἰς ἀρετήν. ἐν δὴ τῷ παρόντι δίκαιος εἰμὶ εἰπεῖν ἃ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπέσκηπτον ἀπαγγέλλειν τοῖς λειπομένοις, εἴπι πάσχοιεν, νίκα κινδυνεύειν ἔμελλον. φράσω δὴ ὑμῖν ἅπερ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα ἐκείνων, καὶ οἷα νῦν ἡδέως ἂν εἴποιεν ὑμῖν, λαβόντες δυνάμιν· τεκμαιρόμενοι ἐξ ὧν τότε ἔλεγον. Χρὴ δὲ νομίζειν χρὴ αὐτῶν ἀκούειν ἐκείνων ἃ ἂν ἀπαγγέλλω. ἔλεγον δὲ τάδε.

Ὦ παῖδες, ὅτι μέν ἐστε πατέρων ἀγαθῶν, αὐτὸ μηνύει τὸ νῦν παρόν· ἡμῖν δὲ ἔξον ζῆν μὴ καλῶς, καλῶς αἱρούμεθα

μεθα μᾶλλον τελευτᾶν, πεῖν ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς ἔπειτα εἰς ὀνείδη καταστῆσαι, ἢ φόβον τοῖς ἡμετέροις πατέρας καὶ παῖδας τοῖσδε γένος αἰσχύνας· ἡγούμεθα γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοῦ αἰσχύνοντι ἀβίωτον εἶναι, καὶ γὰρ τοιούτῳ ὄντι ποτὲ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις οὔτε θεῶν φίλον εἶναι, οὔτ' ὂν πρὸ γῆς, οὔθ' ὑπὸ γῆς, τελευτήσαντι. Χρὴ οὖν, μεμνημένους τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις, ἐάν τι καὶ ἄλλο ἀσκῆτε, ἀσκεῖν μετ' ἀρετῆς· εἰδότας ὅτι τούτου λειπόμενα πάντα καὶ κτήματα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα, αἰσχρὰ καὶ κακά. οὔτε γὰρ πλοῦτος κάλλος φέρει τῷ κεκτημένῳ, μετ' ἀνανδρίας· (ἄλλῳ γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος πλοῦτος καὶ ἰσχὺς δειλῷ καὶ κακῷ ξυνοικοῦντα, τρέποντα φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ἀπρεπῆ· καὶ ἐπιφανέστερον τοῖς τὸν ἔχοντα, καὶ ἐκφαίνει τὴν δειλίαν· πᾶσά τε ἐπιτήμη χαλιζομένη δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς, πανουργία, καὶ σοφία φαίνεται. Ὧν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦτον καὶ ὕστατον καὶ ἁπάντων πᾶσαν πάντως τοῦτον θυμὸν πειρᾶσθε ἔχειν, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν ὑπερβαλεῖσθε καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς πρόσθεν εὐκλείᾳ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἴστε ὡς ἡμῖν, ἂν μὲν νικῶμεν ὑμᾶς ἀρετῇ, ἡ νίκη αἰσχύνῃ φέρει, ἡ δὲ ἧττα, ἐὰν ἡττώμεθα, εὐδαιμονίαν. μάλιστα δ' ἂν νικῶμεθα, καὶ ὑμεῖς νικῶντες, εἰ τοῖσδε τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς δόξῃ μὴ καταχρησάμενοι, μηδ' ἀναλώσαντες αὐτόν· γνόντες ὅτι ἀνδρὶ ὀνόματι τὶ εἶναι), οὐκ ἔστιν αἴσχιον ἢ παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν τιμώμενον μὴ δι' ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ διὰ δόξαν πατρῴων. τὴν μὲν

μὲν γὰρ τιμὰς γονέων ἐκγόνοις, καλὸς ἔπαινος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπής· χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ χρημάτων κ᾽ τιμῇ ἔπαινος ἀρῶ, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδιδόναι, αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἄνανδρον, ἀπορίαν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ κτημάτων τε καὶ εὐδοξιῶν. κ᾽ ἐὰν μὲν ταῦτα ὑπηρετῶσιν, φίλοι παρὰ φίλους ἡμᾶς ἀφίξεσθε, ὅταν δὴ ὑμᾶς ἡ παροῦσα μοῖρα κομίσῃ· ἀμελήσαντας δ᾽ ὑμᾶς κ᾽ κακωθέντας οὐδεὶς εὐμενῶς ὑποδέξεται. τοῖς μὲν οὖν παισὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰρήσθω.

Πατέρας δ᾽ ἡμῶν, οἷς εἰσι, καὶ μητέρας εἰ χρὴ παραινεῖσθαι, ὡς χρὴ ῥᾷστα φέρειν τὴν συμφοράν, ἐὰν ἄρα ξυμβῇ γενέσθαι, καὶ μὴ ξυνοδύρεσθαι· (ὁ γὰρ τῶν λυπήσοντος παρασκήσονται· ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἔσται κ᾽ ἡ ἀνομένη τύχη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι) ἀλλ᾽ ἰωμένους κ᾽ παραίνουσας, ἀναμιμνήσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅτι ὧν εὔχονται, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοὶ θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι γεγόνασιν. ὁ γὰρ ἀθανάτους σφίσι παῖδας εὔχονται γενέσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ εὐκλεεῖς· ὧν ἔτυχον, μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ὄντων. πάντα δὲ οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἀνθρώπῳ ἀνδρὶ κατὰ νοῦν εἶναι πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἐκβαίνειν. καὶ φέροντες μὲν ἀνδρείως τὰς συμφορὰς, δόξουσι τῷ ὄντι ἀνδρείων παίδων πατέρες εἶναι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιοῦτοι· ἀπείκοντες δὲ, ἀσθενείᾳ παρέξουσιν ἢ μὴ ἡμέτερον εἶναι, ἢ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐπαινέσαντας καταψεύδεσθαι. χρὴ δ᾽ οὐδέτερα τούτων· ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνους μάλιστα πάντων, ἡμῶν ἐπαινέσαι εἶναι, ἔργῳ παρέχοντας αὐτοὺς φαινομένους τῷ ὄντι πατέρας ὄντας ἀνδρῶν. πάλαι γὰρ δὴ τὸ

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The common occurrences of life.

ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΓΑΝ λεγόμενον, καλῶς δοκῇ λέγεσθαι· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι εὖ λέγεται. ὅταν γὰρ ἀνὴρ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνήρτηται πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα, ἡ ἐγγὺς τούτου, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις αἰωρεῖται, ἐξ ὧν ἢ εὖ ἢ κακῶς πραξόντων πλημμέλειαν ἀνάγκαιον, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου τούτῳ ἄδεια πρεπόντως ζῆν. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ σώφρων, καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ φρόνιμος· οὗτος, γιγνομένων χρημάτων καὶ παίδων, καὶ ἀφθειρομένων, μάλιστα πείσεται τῇ παροιμίᾳ· οὔτε γὰρ χαίρων οὔτε λυπούμενος ἄγαν φανήσεται, ἀφ' ὅτῳ πεποίθαμεν. τοιούτους δὲ ἡμεῖς γε ἀξιοῦμεν καὶ σοὶ ἡμετέρους εἶναι, καὶ βουλόμεθα, καὶ φαμέν· καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς νῦν πρέπει τοιούτους, οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦντας, οὐδὲ φοβουμένους ἄγαν, εἰ δὴ τελευτᾶν ὀφείλομεν τῷ παρόντι. Δεόμεθα δὴ καὶ πατέρων καὶ μητέρων τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ διανοίᾳ χρωμένους τὸν ὑπόλοιπον βίον ἀφέναι, καὶ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐ θρηνοῦντες ὑδὲ ὀλοφυρόμενοι ἡμᾶς ἡμῖν μάλιστα χαριοῦνται· ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἐστὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν αἴσθησις τῶν ζώντων, οὕτως ἀχάριστοι εἶεν ἂν μάλιστα, ἑαυτούς τε κακοῦντες, καὶ βαρέως φέροντες τὰς ξυμφορὰς· κούφως δὲ καὶ μετρίως, μάλιστ' ἂν χαίροιεν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερα τελευτὴν ἤδη ἔχει, ἥπερ καλλίστη γίγνεται ἀνθρώποις, ὥστε πρέπει αὐτὰ μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν ἢ θρηνεῖν. γυναικῶν δὲ τὸ ἡμετέρων καὶ παίδων ὑπομελόμενοι, καὶ τρέφοντες, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸν νοῦν

πρέποντες, τῆς τε τύχης μάλιστ' ἂν εἶεν ἐν λήθῃ, καὶ ζῷεν κάλλιον καὶ ὀρθότερον, ἢ ἡμῖν προσφιλέστερον.

Ταῦτα δὴ ἱκανὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀγγέλλειν. τῇ δὲ πόλει προσκελευόμεθ' ἂν ὅπως ἡμῖν καὶ πατέρων καὶ μέλεων ἐπιμελήσονται, τοὺς μὲν παιδεύοντες κοσμίως, τοὺς δὲ γηροτροφοῦντες, ἀξίως· νῦν δ' ἴσμεν ὅτι καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἡμεῖς προσκελευώμεθα, ἱκανῶς ἐπιμελήσεται.

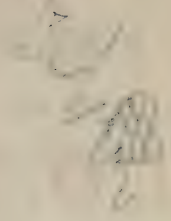
Ταῦτα οὖν, ὦ παῖδες καὶ γονεῖς τῶν τελευτησάντων, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐπέσκηπτον ἡμῖν ἀπαγγέλλειν, καὶ ἐγὼ ὡς δύναμαι προθυμότατα ἀπαγγέλλω· καὶ αὐτὸς δέομαι ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων, τῶν μέν, μιμεῖσθαι σὺν αὐτῷ· τῶν δέ, θαρρεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν· ὡς ἡμῶν καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ γηροτροφησόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπιμελησομένων, ὅπου ἂν ἕκαστος ἐκάστῳ ἐντυγχάνῃ ὀτιοῦν τῶν ἐκείνων. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἴσως που καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὅτι νόμοις ἡμῶν πρὸ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων παῖδάς τε καὶ θηλυτέρας, ἐπιμελεῖται· καὶ διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν προστέτακται φυλάττειν ἀρχὴ ἥπερ μεγίστη ἐστίν, ὅπως ἂν μηδὲν τούτων μὴ ἀδικῶνται πατέρες τε καὶ μητέρες. τοὺς δὲ παῖδας συνεκτρέφῃ αὐτή, προθυμουμένη ὅτι μάλιστ' ἄδηλον αὐτοῖς τὴν ὀρφάνιαν ἡμέραν· ἐν πατρὸς σχήματι καταστᾶσα αὐτοῖς αὕτη, ἕπεται σωτῆρι οὖσι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν εἰς ἀνδρὸς τέλος ἵωσιν, ἀποπέμπει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν, πανοπλίᾳ κοσμήσασα· ἐνδεικνυμένη καὶ ἀναμιμνήσκουσα τὰ

τοῦ

τῶ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδεύματα, ὄργανα τῆς πατρῴας ἀρετῆς διδοῦσα· καὶ ἅμα οἴνου χάειν ἄρχεσθαι ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶ πατρῴαν ἐσίσθαι, ἄρξοντα μετ' ἰσχύος ὅπλοις κεκοσμημένον. αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας τιμῶσα οὐδέποτε ἐκλείπει καθ' ἕκαστον ἐναυτὸν αὐτὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιοῦσα κοινῆ πᾶσιν, ἅπερ ἴδια ἑκάστῳ ἰδίᾳ γίγνεται. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀγῶνας γυμνικοὺς καὶ ἱππικοὺς πιθεῖσα, καὶ μουσικῆς πάσης· καὶ ἀτεχνῶς τῶν μὲν τελευτησάντων, ἐν κληρονόμου καὶ υἱέος μοίρᾳ καθεστηκυῖα, τῶν δὲ υἱέων, ἐν πατρὸς, νέων δὲ ἐν τῶν τοιούτων, ἐν ἐπιτρόπου· πᾶσαν πάντων τῶν πάντα χρόνον ἐπιμέλειαν ποιουμένη. ὧν χρὴ ἐθιμουμένους, πρόθυμον φέρειν τὴν ξυμφορήν. τοῖς δὲ τελευτήσασι καὶ τοῖς ζῶσιν οὕτως ἂν προσφιλέσταις εἶητε, καὶ ῥᾷστοι θεραπεύειν τε καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι. ὧν δὴ ἤδη ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοι πάντες, κοινῆ κατὰ νόμον τὸν τετελευτηκότας ἀπολοφυράμενοι, ἄπιτε.

ΣΩ. Οὗτός σοι ὁ λόγος, ὦ Μενέξενε, Ἀσπασίας τῆς Μιλησίας ἐστί. ΜΕ. Νὴ Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες, μακαρίαν γε λέγεις τὴν Ἀσπασίαν, εἰ γε καὶ οὖσα τοιούτων λόγων οἵα τ' ἐστὶ συμπαίσω. ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πιστεύεις, ἀκολούθησόν μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἀκούσῃ αὐτῆς λεγούσης. ΜΕ. Πολλάκις, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ ἐντετύχηκα Ἀσπασίᾳ, καὶ οἶδα οἵα ἐστί. ΣΩ. Τί οὖν; οὐκ ἄγασαι αὐτήν, καὶ νῦν χάειν ἔχεις

ἔχεις τοῦ λόγου αὐτῇ; ΜΕ. Καὶ πολλώ γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ χάειν ἔχω τούτου τοῦ λόγου ἐκείνῃ, ἢ ἐκείνῳ ὅστις σοι ὁ εἰπὼν ἐστὶν αὐτόν· καὶ πρόγε ἄλλων πολλῶ χάειν ἔχω τῷ εἰπόντι. ΣΩ. Εὖ ἂν ἔχοι. ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ μὴ κατερεῖς, ἵνα καὶ αὖθίς σοι πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς λόγους περὶ αὐτῆς πολιτικοὺς ἀπαγγέλλω. ΜΕ. Θαῤῥεῖ, ὦ κατερῶ· μόνον ἀπάγγελλε. ΣΩ. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἔσαι.



ΛΥΣΙΟΥ
ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ
ΤΟΙΣ
ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΒΟΗΘΟΙΣ.

ΕΙ μὲν ἠγόμην οἷόν τε εἶναι, ὦ παῤόντες, ὅπῃ τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ, λόγῳ δηλῶσαι τὴν τῶν ὑπὸδε κειμένων ἀνδρῶν ἀρετήν, ἐμεμφόμην ἂν τοῖς ἐπαγγείλασιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ πᾶς χρόνος οὐχ ἱκανὸς λόγον ἴσον παρασκευάσαι τοῖς τότων ἔργοις, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ πόλις μοι δοκεῖ, παρανομοῦσα τοὺς ὑπὸδε λεγόντων, ὀλίγου τὴν παράταξιν ποιεῖσθαι· ἡγουμένη οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα συγγνώμης αὐτοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσόντων τυγχάνειν. ὅμως δὲ ὁ μὲν λόγος μοι περὶ τότων, ὁ δ' ἀγὼν ὁ περὶ τὰ τότων ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς προτέρας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰρημόνας. τοσαύτην γὰρ ἀφθονίαν παρεσκεύασεν ἡ τούτων ἀρετὴ καὶ τοῖς ποιεῖν δυναμένοις καὶ τοῖς εἰπεῖν βουληθεῖσιν, ὥστε καλὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοῖς προτέροις περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρῆσθαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ

καὶ ἐκείνοις ὠφελεῖφθαι· ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπολοιπομένοις ἐξεῖναι εἰπεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ τῆς ἀπειρίας οὔτε ἀλαζονείας ἀδεμιᾶς, πρὸς ἅπαντ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πεπιθόντες κακοῖς, τοῖς τούτων ἀρεταῖς ὑμνοῦσι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς παλαιοὺς κινδύνους τῶν προγόνων δίειμι, μνήμην ὑμῖν ποιούμενος τῆς φήμης λαβών. ἄξιον γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἐκείνων μεμνῆσθαι, ὑμνοῦντας μὲν ἐν ταῖς ᾠδαῖς, λέγοντας δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μνήμαις, τιμῶντας δ' ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις, παιδεύοντας δ' ἐν τοῖς πεπνεώτων ἔργοις τοὺς ζῶντας. Ἀμαζόνες μὲν γὰρ, Ἄρεος μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν θυγατέρες, οἰκοῦσαι δὲ περὶ τὸν Θερμώδοντα ποταμόν, μόναι δὲ ὡπλισμέναι σιδήρῳ τῶν περὶ αὐτὰς, πρῶται δὲ τῶν πάντων ἐφ' ἵππους ἀναβᾶσαι, οἷς ἀνελπίστως, δι' ἀπειρίαν τοῦ ἐναντίου, ἤρξαν μὲν τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἀπέλειπον δὲ τοὺς διώκοντας· ἐνόμιζοντο δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐψυχίαν μᾶλλον ἄνδρες, ἢ διὰ τὴν φύσιν γυναῖκες. πλέον γὰρ ἐδόκουν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς διαφέρειν, ἢ ταῖς ἰδέαις ἐλλείπειν. ἄρχουσαι δὲ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἔργῳ μὲν τοὺς περὶ αὐτὰς καταδεδουλωμένας, λόγῳ δὲ περὶ πάσης τῆς χώρας ἀκούουσαι κλέος μέγα, πολλῆς δόξης καὶ μεγάλης ἐλπίδος χάριν παραλαβοῦσαι τὰ μαχιμώτατα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν. τυχοῦσαι δ' ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁμοίας ἐκτήσαντο τὰς ψυχὰς τῇ φύσει, καὶ ἐναντίαν τὴν δόξαν τῆς προτέρας λαβοῦσαι,

μᾶλλον

μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἢ ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἔδοξαν εἶναι γυναῖκες· μόναις δ' αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐξεφέρετ' ἐκ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων μαθούσαις περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄμεινον βουλεύσασθαι, ἢ δ' οἴκαδε ἀπελθούσαις ἀπαγγεῖλαι τἀνδρί τε σφετέραν αὐτῶν δυσχίδη καὶ τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων ἀρετήν. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἀποθανοῦσα, καὶ δοῦσα δίκην τῆς ἀνοίας, τῇδε μὲν τὴν πόλεως, ἀφ' ἧς τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀθάνατον μνήμην ἐποιήσαντο, τὴν δὲ ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα, διὰ τὴν οἴκαδε συμφοράν, ἀνώνυμον κατέστησαν. ἐκείνας μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀλλοτρίας ἀδίκως ὑπομήσασαι, τὴν αὐτῶν δικαίως ἀπώλεσαν.

Ἀδράστου γὰρ καὶ Πολυνείκους ὑπὸ Θήβας στρατευσάντων, καὶ ἡττηθέντων μάχῃ, οὐκ ἐώντων τῶν Καδμείων θάπτειν τοὺς νεκροὺς, Ἀθηναῖοι ἡγησάμενοι ἐκείνους μὲν, εἰπὲ ἠδίκει, ἀποθανόντας δίκην ἔχειν τὴν μεγίστην, τοὺς δὲ κάτω τοῦ αὐτῶν ἃ νομίζεσθαι, ἱερῶν δὲ μαινομένων τοὺς ἄνω Θεοὺς ἀσεβεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν θεῖον πέμψαντες κήρυκας, ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν δοῦναι τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν· νομίζοντες ἀνδρῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν εἶ ζώντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρήσασθαι, ἀπιστοῦντων δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἐν τοῖς τῶν τεθνεώτων σώμασι τὴν εὐψυχίαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι. οἱ δυνάμενοι δὲ τούτων τυχεῖν, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, οὐδεμιᾶς διαφορᾶς πρότερον πρὸς Καδμείους ὑπαρχούσης, οὐδὲ τοῖς ζῶσιν Ἀργείοις χαλεπαίνοντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀξιοῦντες τῶν νομιζομένων τυγχάνειν, πρὸς τοὺς ἑτέρους ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐκινδύνευσαν.

ὑπὲρ

ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν, ἵνα μηκέτι εἰς τὰς τεθνεώσας ἁμαρτάνοντες, πλείω δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξυβρίσωσιν· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων, ἵνα μὴ χείρονα εἰς τὰ αὐτῶν ἀπέλθωσι, πατρίδα τιμῆς ἀτυχήσαντες, καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ νόμου στερηθέντες, καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμαρτηκότες. ταῦτα μανθανόντες, καὶ τὰς ὑπὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τύχας, κοινὰς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων νομίζοντες, πολλοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κτώμενοι, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἔχοντες σύμμαχον, οἰκείων μαχόμενοι. οὐκ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἐπαρθέντες, μείζονος χρῆναι Καδμείων τιμωρίας ἐπεθύμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ λαβόντες τὰ ἆθλα ὥνπερ ἕνεκα ἀφίκοντο, τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν Ἐλευσῖνι. χρὴ μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀποθανόντας τῶν ἐπὶ Θήβας τοιούτους γενόμενον.

Ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ, ἐπειδὴ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη, οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἔφευγον μὲν Εὐρυσθέα, ἐξηλαύνοντο δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, αἰσχυνομένων μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις, φοβουμένων δὲ τὴν Εὐρυσθέως δύναμιν, ἀφικόμενοι εἰς τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, ἱκέται ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐκαθέζοντο. ἐξαιτουμένων δὲ αὐτοὺς Εὐρυσθέως, Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἐκδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ἡδύνατο, ἢ τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ ἀξίουν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδυνατωτέρων μὴ τοῦ δικαίου ἁμαρτάνειν μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῖς δυναμένοις χαριζόμενοι τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀδικουμένους ἐκδοῦναι.

ξναι. ὑπερταθύαντος δ' Εὐρυσθέως μὴ τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Πελοποννησον ἐχόντων, οὐκ ἐγγὺς τῆ δεινῶν γενόμενοι μετέγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχον γνώμην ἥπερ πρότερον· ἀγαθὸν μὲ σφίσιν ἰδίᾳ νομὸ δ' παιδὸς αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐκείνους τ' ἂν εἰδότες ὁποῖοί τινες ἄνδρες ἔσονται φυλάξοντες· δίκαιον δὲ νομίζοντες εἶναι, οὐ προτέρας ἔχθρας ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς Εὐρυσθέα, οὐδὲ κέρδους προκειμένου, πλὴν δόξης ἀγαθῆς, τοσοῦτον κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔφαντο· οὐ μὲ ἀδικουμένους ἐλεήντες, τὸς δ' ὑβρίζοντας μισοῦντες· καὶ τοὺς μὲν κωλύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες, τοῖς δ' ἐπικουρεῖν ἀξιοῦντες. ἡγούμενοι ἐλευθερίας μὲν σημεῖον εἶναι, μηδὲν ποιεῖν ἄκοντας, δικαιοσύνης δ', τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις βοηθεῖν· εὐψυχίας δ', ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων, εἰ δέοι, μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν. τοσοῦτον δ' ἐφρόνουν ἀμφότεροι, ὥσθ' ἃ μὲν μετ' Εὐρυσθέως οὐδὲν πρὸ ἑκόντων ἐζήτουν εὐείσκεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἠξίουν Εὐρυσθέα αὐτὸν ἱκετεύοντα τὰς ἱκεσίας αὐτῶν ἀξελεῖν. προταξάμενοι δ' ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει τὴν ἐξ ἁπάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατιὰν ἐλθοῦσαν σὺν ἴσῃ μαχόμενοι. καὶ τῶν παίδων τὰ μὲ σώματα εἰς ἄδειαν κατέστησαν, ἀπαλλάξαντες δὲ δεινῶν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἠλευθέρωσαν, ἀφ' τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετὴν, ἐκείνους δὲ τοῖς αὐτῶν κινδύνοις ἐστεφάνωσαν. τοσοῦτον δ' εὐτυχέστεροι παῖδες ὄντες ἐγένοντο τοῦ πατρός· ὁ μὲ γὰρ, καίπερ ὢν ἀγαθῶν πολλῶν αἴτιος ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις,

ἐπίπονον καὶ φιλόνεικον καὶ φιλότιμον αὐτῷ κατασήσας τὸν βίον, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀδικουμένας ἐκόλασεν, Εὐρυσθέα δὲ καὶ ἐχθρὸν ὄντα, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμαρτάνοντα, οὐκ οἷός τε ἦν τιμωρήσασθαι· οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτῷ σὺν τῇδε τὴν πόλιν τῇ αὐτῇ εἶδον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν θ' ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τιμωρίαν.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπῆρχε τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις μιᾷ γνώμῃ χρωμένοις πρὸς τὸν δικαίου ἀγαμάχαν. ἥ τε γὰρ ἀρχὴ τοῦ βίου δικαία. ὁ γὰρ, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ, πανταχόθεν συνειλεγμένοι, καὶ ἕτεροι ἐκβαλόντες, τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ᾤκησαν, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονες ὄντες, τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκτήσαντο μητέρα καὶ πατρίδα. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ μόνοι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκβαλόντες τοὺς πρὸ σφῶν αὐτοῖς δυναστείας, Δημοκρατίαν κατεστήσαντο. ἡγούμενοι τὴν πάντων ἐλευθερίαν, ὁμόνοιαν εἶναι μεγίστην· κοινὰς δ' ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐλπίδας ποιησάμενοι, ἐλευθέραις ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐπολιτεύοντο· νόμῳ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμῶντες καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς κολάζοντες· ἡγησάμενοι θεῶν μὲν ἔργον εἶ, ὑπ' ἀλλήλων βίᾳ κρατεῖσθαι, ἀνθρώποις δὲ προσήκειν, νόμῳ μὲν ὁρίσαι τὸ δίκαιον, λόγῳ δὲ πεῖσαι, ἔργῳ δὲ τούτοις ὑπηρετεῖν· ὑπὸ νόμου μὲν βασιλευομένους, ὑπὸ λόγου δὲ διδασκομένους. καὶ γὰρτοι καὶ φύντες καλῶς, καὶ γενόντες ὅμοια, πολλὰ μὲν καλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ οἱ πρόγονοι τῶν ἐνθάδε πεπολιτευμένων εἰργάσαντο· ἀείμνηστα δὲ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ

παντα-

παντα χοῦ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγονότες τρόπαια διὰ τ' αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν κατέλιπον. μόνοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας τῶν Βαρβάρων δὶς ἐκινδύνευσαν. ὁ γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς, οὐκ ἀγαπῶν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζων καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην δουλώσεσθαι, ἔστειλε σὺν τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στρατιάν. ἠπορήμεθα δὲ, εἰ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, ἢ ἐκοῦσαν φίλιον ποιήσαιντο, ἢ ἄκουσαν καθαιρήσαιντο, ῥᾳδίως τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἄρξειν, ἀποδόντες εἰς Μαραθῶνα. νομίσαντες οὕτως ἂν ἐρημοτάτην εἶναι συμμάχων σφῶν Ἕλληνας, εἰ, ἔτι στασιαζούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὥπτι χρὴ τρόπῳ τὸν ὑπόντας ἀμύνασθαι, τὸν κίνδυνον ποιήσαιντο. ἔτι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἔργων καὶ τῆς πόλεως τοιαύτη δόξα παρεστήκει, ὡς εἰ μὲν πρότερον ἐπ' ἄλλην πόλιν ἴοιεν, ἐκείνοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολεμήσουσι· παθόμως γὰρ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἤξουσι βοηθήσοντες. εἰ δ' ἐνθάδε πρῶτον ἀφίξονται, οὐδένας ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων τολμήσειν, ἑτέρους σώζοντας, φανερὰν ἔχθραν πρὸς ἐκείνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καταθέσθαι. ἃ μὲν τοίνυν ταῦτα διενοοῦντο· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ὑ λογισμῷ εἰδότες τὸν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κινδύνους, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες τὸν εὐκλεᾶ θάνατον ἀθάνατον πρὸ τ' ἀγαθῶν καταλείπειν λόγον, οὐκ ἐφοβήθησ τὸ πλῆθος τ' ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ μᾶλλον ἐπίστευσ. ὑ αἰσχυνόμενοι ὅτι ἦσ οἱ Βάρβαροι αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὐκ ἀνέμειναν πυθέσθ ὐδὲ βοηθῆσαι τοὺς συμμά-

χους·

χθς· οὐδ' ᾠήθησαν δεῖν ἑτέροις τ σωτηρίας χάριν εἰδέναι, ἀλλὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὰς ἄλλας Ελληνας. ταῦτα μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντες γνόντες, ἀπάντων ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλούς. ἐνόμιζον γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν μὲ αὐτοῖς μετ' πάντων προσήκειν, ἀγαθοὺς δ' εἶ μετ' ὀλίγων· ἡ τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἀφ' ἡ θάνατον κεκτῆσθαι, τὴν δ' ἐκ τ κινδύνων μνήμην ἰδίαν καταλείψειν. ἠξίουν δ' οὓς μὴ μόνοι νικῶεν, ἀδ' ἂν μετ' συμμάχων δύνασθαι· καὶ ἡττηθέντες μὲν, ὀλίγῳ τῶν ἄλλων προαπολεῖσθ, νικήσαντες δ', ἡ τὰς ἄλλους ἐλευθερώσειν. ἄνδρες δ' ἀγαθοὶ θυμούμενοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν σωμάτων ἀφειδήσαντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τ ἀρετῆς οὐ φιλοψυχήσαντες, ἐ μᾶλλον τὰς πρ' αὐτοῖς νόμους αἰσχυνόμενοι, ἢ τὸν προς τοὺς πολεμίους κίνδυνον φοβούμενοι, ἔστιν μὲν πρόπαια ὑπὲρ τῆς Ελλάδ τῶν Βαρβάρων, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆ χώρας ὑπὲρ χρημάτων εἰς τὴ ἀλλοτρίαν ἐμβαλόντων πρὸς τοὺς ὅρους. οὕτω ἡ διὰ ταχέων τὸν κίνδυνον ἐποιήσαντο, ὥστε ἀ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπήγγειλαν τὴν εὐθὰδε ἄφιξιν τ Βαρβάρων καὶ τὴν τῶν προγόνων νίκην. καὶ γὰρ οἱ θδεὶς τ ἄλλων ἔδεισεν ὑπὲρ τ μέλλοντος κινδύνου, ἀλλ' ἀκόσαντες ὑπὲρ τ αὐτῆ ἐλευθερίας ἤθησαν. ὥστε θδὲν θαυμαστὸν, παλαιῶν ἔργων μνημηθέντων, ὥσπερ καινῶν ὄντων, ἔτι καὶ νῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ζηλοῦσθαι.

Μετὰ

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὁ τῆς Ασίας βασιλεὺς, καταφρονήσας μὲ τῆς Ελλάδ☉, ἐψευσμένος τ᾽ ἐλπίδος, ἀπιμαζόμν☉ τῷ γεφυρῶν, ἀχθόμν☉ τῇ συμφορᾷ, ὀργιζόμενος δὲ τοῖς αἰτίοις, ἀπαθὴς δ᾽ ὢν κακῶν καὶ ἀπείρων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, δεκάτῳ ἔτ᾽ κατασκευασάμενος, χιλίαις μὲ καὶ διακοσίαις ναυσὶν ἀφίκετο· τῆς δὲ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς οὕτως ἄπειρον τὸ πλῆθ☉ ἦγεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μετ᾽ αὐτῷ ἀκολουθήσαντα πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἴη καταλέξαι. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον σημεῖον τοῦ πλήθους· ὀξὺν γὰρ αὐτῷ χιλίαις ναυσὶ διαβιβάσαι χρὴ ὃ γενόμενον τῶ Ελληνικοῦ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Ασίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, οὐκ ἐθέλησεν, ἡγούμν☉ τὴν διατριβὴν αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἔσεσθαι· ἀλλ᾽ ὑπεριδὼν καὶ τὰ φύσει πεφυκότα καὶ τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, καὶ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας διανοίας, ὁδὸν μὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐποιήσατο, πλοῦν δὲ διὰ τῆς γῆς ἠνάγκασε γενέσθαι· ζεύξας μὲ τ᾽ Ελλήσποντον, διορύξας δὲ τὸν Αθω· ὑφισταμένν ὕδατος, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν, ἀκόντων ἐπισχόντων, τῶν δὲ, ἑκόντων προδιδόντων. οἱ μὲ γὰρ οὐκ ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν ἀμύνασθαι, οἱ δ᾽ ὑπὸ χρημάτων διεφθαρμένοι. ἀμφότερα δ᾽ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ πείθοντα, κέρδος καὶ δέ☉. Αθηναῖοι δ᾽ ὕστερον διακεκμένης τῆς Ελλάδ☉, αὐτοὶ μὲν εἰς τὰς ναῦς εἰσβάντες, ἐπ᾽ Αρτεμίσιον ἐβοήθησ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἔνιοι εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἀπήντησαν, ἡγούμενοι διὰ τὴν γενόμενην τῶν χωρίων τὴν πάροδον οἷοί τε ἔσεσθαι διαφυλάξαι.

λάξαι. ἡμεμψάν δὲ ἅ κινδύνᾳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲ ὀλίγων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐδὲ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὀλεθρίοις ἡμέμφοντο, ἀλλὰ ἅ πλήθους ἡθροισμένης, ἃ οὐκ ἐφυλάξαν φόνῳ, καὶ ἃς οὐκ κινδυνεύσειν ἔμελλον, οὐκ ἀπιστήσαντες τῶν ὀλιγίστων, ἀλλ' ἀποθνήσκοντες ἅπερ ἐπάχθησαν μάχεσθαι. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν μὲν δυστυχησάντων, τῶν δὲ τῆς προδοσίας κρατησάντων, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πρέσβεις πυθόμενοι μὲν τὴν γεγενημένην Λακεδαιμονίοις συμφορὰν, ἀπορούντες δὲ τοῖς παρεσκευασμένοις πρόσθεν, εἰδότες δ' ὅτι εἰ μὴ κατὰ γῆν τοῖς Βαρβάροις ἀπαντήσονται, ὑπερβαλόντες χιλίαις ναυσὶν ἐρήμην τὴν πόλιν λήψονται· εἰ δὲ εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβήσονται, ὑπὸ τῆς πεζῆς στρατιᾶς ἁλώσεται· ἀμφότερα δὴ ἃ δυνήσονται, ἀμύνασθαί τε καὶ φυλακὴν ἰσχυρὰν καταλιπεῖν. δυοῖν δὲ παρεσκευασμένοιν, πότερον χρὴ τὴν πατρίδα ἀλλιπεῖν, ἢ μετὰ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἡμένους καταδουλώσασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἡσσάμενοι κρεῖττον ἦν μετ' ἀρετῆς καὶ πενίας ἢ φυγῆς ἐλευθερίαν, ἢ μετ' ὀνείδους καὶ πλούτου δουλείαν τὴν πατρίδα, ἐξέλιπον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν πόλιν· ἵν' οἱ μέρη πρὸς ἑκατέραν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας ἅμα τοὺς δυνάμεις κινδυνεύσωσι. ὑπεκθέμενοι παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ μητέρας εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, συνήθροιζον καὶ ὅ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ναυτικόν. οὐ πολλαῖς δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἦλθε καὶ ἡ πεζὴ στρατιὰ, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων,

ὃ τὰς

ὁ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἰδὼν ἐφοβήθη; οἷος μέγας καὶ δεινὸς τῇδε τῇ πόλει κίνδυνος ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἠγωνίσθη; ποίαν δὲ γνώμην εἶχον ἢ οἱ ἰόντες τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκείναις (οὔσης καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἀπίστου, καὶ πεφοβημένης δ' ἀνδύνου) ἢ οἱ μέλλοντες ναυμαχήσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλότητος, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄθλων τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνος; τοσοῦτον παρεχόθει πρεσβυτικὴ πλῆθος πολεμίων, ὥστε ἐλάχιστον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν τὸν θάνατον τὸν αὐτῶν, τῷ αὐτὸν πρεσβύειν, μέγιστη δὲ συμφορὴν ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων εὐτυχησάντων τὸν ὑπεκπλεῖν, ἤλπιζον πείσεσθαι.

Ἦσαν, διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀπορίαν, πολλάκις μὲν ἐδεξιώσαντο ἀλλήλους, εἰκότως δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλοφύραντο. εἰδότες μὲν τὰς σφετέρας ναῦς ὀλίγας οὔσας, ὁρῶντες δὲ πολλὰς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων· ὑποτάμενοι δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἠρημωμένην, τὴν δὲ χώραν πορθουμένην, καὶ μεστὴν τῶν Βαρβάρων· ἱερὰ δὲ καιομένα, ἀπάντων δ' ἐγγὺς ὄντων τῶν δεινῶν· ἀκούοντες δ' ἐν ταὐτῷ συμμεμιγμένου Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ βαρβαρικοῦ παιᾶνος, κελευσμοῦ δ' ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ κραυγῆς τῶν διαφθειρομένων, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης μεστῆς τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ πολλῶν συμπιπτόντων, ἐφ' ἑνὶ καὶ πολεμίων ναυαγίων, ἀνιπάλου ἦν πολὺν χρόνον οὔσης τῆς ναυμαχίας· δακοῦντες τοτὲ μὲν νενικηκέναι καὶ σεσῶσθαι, τοτὲ δ' ἡττῆσθαι καὶ ἀπολωλέναι. ἦσαν, διὰ τὸν παρόντα

παρόντα φόβον πολλὰ μὲν φήθησ' ἰδεῖν ὧν οὐκ εἶδον, πολλὰ δ' ἀκοῦσαι ὧν οὐκ ἤκουσ'. ποίαι δ' οὐχ ἱκετεῖαι θεῶν ἐγένοντο, ἢ θυσιῶν ἀναμνήσεις; ἔλεός τε παίδων, καὶ γυναικῶν θόρυβος, οἰκτός τε πατέρων καὶ μητέρων; λογισμός τε, εἰ δυστυχήσειαν, τῶν μελλόντων ἕσεσθαι κακῶν; τίς οὐκ ἂν θεῶν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ κινδύνου; ἢ τίς ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἂν ἐδάκρυσεν; ἢ τίς τῆς τόλμης αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἂν ἠγάσθη; Ἡ πολὺ πλεῖον ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων διήνεγκαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς βουλεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις. ἐκλιπόντες μὲν τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὰς ναῦς δ' ἐσβάντες, τὰς δ' αὐτῶν ψυχὰς ὀλίγας οὔσας ἀντιτάξαντες τῷ πλήθει τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας. ἐπέδειξαν δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, νικήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, ὅτι κρεῖττον μετ' ὀλίγων ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας κινδυνεύειν, ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν βασιλευομένων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑτέρων δουλείας. πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα ἐκεῖνοι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας συνεβάλοντο, στρατηγὸν μὲν, Θεμιστοκλέα, ἱκανώτατον εἰπεῖν, καὶ γνῶναι, καὶ πρᾶξαι· ναῦς δὲ πλείους τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων συμμάχων, ἄνδρας δ' ἐμπειροτάτους. καίτοι τίνες οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἧσσον γνώμῃ, καὶ πλήθει, καὶ ἀρετῇ; ὥστε δικαίως μὲν καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτης ἀσφαλείας τῆς ναυμαχίας ἔλαβον τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἰκότως δὲ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὁμονοοῦσιν τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν ἐκτήσαντο· γνησίαν δὲ καὶ αὐτόχθονα τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας βαρβάροις τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν

ἐπεδεί-

ἐπεδείξαντο. οἱ μὲν οὖν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τοιούτους αὐτοὺς παρασχόντες, καὶ πολὺ πλείστων τῶν κινδύνων μεταλαχόντες, τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀρετῇ κοινὸν τὸν ἐλευθερίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκτήσαντο.

Υστερον δὲ Πελοποννησίων ἀφιστεμένων τὸν Ἰσθμόν, καὶ ἀναπόντων μὲν τὴν σωτηρίαν, νομιζόντων δ' ἀπόλλυσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα κινδύνῳ, καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας φοβουμένων ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένους, ὀργισθέντες Ἀθηναῖοι συνεβούλευον αὐτοῖς, εἰ ταύτην τὸν γνώμην ἔχουσιν, φέρε ἅπασαν τὴν Πελοπόννησον τεῖχος φέρειν. εἰ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων προδιδόμενοι μὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔσονται, οὔτ' ἐκείνοις δήσειν χιλίων νεῶν, οὔτε τούτους ὠφελήσειν τὸ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τεῖχος· ἀκινδύνως γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀρχὴν τοῦ βασιλέως. διδασκόμενοι δὲ καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄδικά τε ποιεῖν καὶ κακῶς βουλεύεσθαι, Ἀθηναίους δὲ δίκαιά τε λέγειν, καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα αὐτοῖς παραινεῖν, ἐβοήθησαν εἰς Πλαταιάς· ἀποφάντων δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα τῶν πλείστων συμμάχων ἐκ τῶν τάξεων, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοπέδου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ Τεγεάται τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπέφοβον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Πλαταιεῖς πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι τοὺς ἀπογνόντας τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὑπομείναντας τὴν δουλείαν. ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καλλίστην τελευτὴν τοῖς πρώτοις κινδύνοις ἐπιθέντες, βέβαιον μὲν τὴν ἐλευθε-

ρίαν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ καλεργάσαντο. οἳ ἅπασι δὲ τοῖς κινδύνοις δόντες ἔλεγχον τ ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς, καὶ μόνοι καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων, καὶ πεζομαχοῦντες καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες, καὶ πρὸς Βαρβάρους καὶ πρὸς αὖ Ελληνας, ὑπὸ πάντων ἠξιώθησαν, καὶ μθ' ὧν ἐκινδύνευον καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἐπολέμουν, ἡγεμόνες ἡμέας τ Ελλάδ@.

Υστερῳ δὲ χρόνῳ Ελλικοῦ πολέμου καταφάντος, διὰ ξῆλον τῆς γεγενημένων, καὶ φθόνον τῶν πεπραγμένων, μέγα μὲν ἅπαντες φρονοῦντες, μικρῶν δ' ἐγκλημάτων ἕκαστοι δέομενοι, ναυμαχίας Αθηναίοις πρὸς Αἰγινήτας, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων συμμάχους ἡμοιρήσ, ἑβδομήκοντα τειρεις αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανον. πολιορκούντων δὲ χ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Αἰγυπτίόν τε καὶ Αἴγινάν, καὶ τ ἡλικίας ἀπούσης ἔν τε τ ναυσὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ στρατεύματι, Κορίνθιοι καὶ @ ἐκείνων σύμμαχοι ἠγέμονοι ἢ εἰς ἔρημον τ χώραν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἢ ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἄξειν ὃ στρατόπεδον, ἐξελθόντες παντδημεὶ Γερήνειαν κατέλαβον. Αθηναῖοι δ', τ μὲν ἀπόντων, τ δ' ἐγγὺς ὄντων, θόδεια ἐτόλμησαν μεταπέμψαθαι· τ δ' αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς πιστεύσαντες, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων καταφρονήσαντες, οἱ γεραίτεροι καὶ οἱ τ ἡλικίας ἐντὸς γεγονότες, ἠξίουν αὐτοὶ μόνοι τὸν κίνδυνον ποιήσασθαι· οἱ μὲν, ἐμπειρίᾳ τῆς ἀρετῆν, @ δ', φύσῃ κεκτημένοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν, αὐτοὶ πολλαχῇ ἀγαθοὶ γεγενημένοι, οἱ δ', ἐκείνοις μιμούμενοι· τ μὲ πρεσβυτέρων ἄρχειν ὑπομενόντων, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων ὃ ὑπιτατόμενον

μενοι ποιεῖν δυναμένων. Μυρωνίδου οὖν στρατηγοῦντος ἀπαντήσαντες αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν, ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι ἅπασαν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνων· τοῖς μὲν ἤδη ἀπειρηκόσι, καὶ τοῖς οὔπω δυναμένοις, σὺν εἰς τὴν σφετέραν ἐμβαλεῖν ἀξιώσαντας, εἰς τὴν Ἀλλοτρίαν ἀπαντήσαντες· τρόπαιον δὲ στήσαντες, καλλίστου μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔργου, αἰσχίστου δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις, οἱ μὲν ὄκνῳ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, οἱ δ' οὔπω δυνάμενοι· τῇ ψυχαῖς ἀμφότεροι κρείττους ἡμῶμενοι, μὴ καλλίστης δόξης εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπελθόντες, ἣν μὲν πάλιν ἐπαιδευόμην, οἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐβουλεύοντο.

Καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν οὖν ῥᾴδιον τὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν, κινδυνευθέντα ὑφ' ἑνὸς ῥηθῆναι, ἅδε τὰ ἐν ἅπασι τῷ χρόνῳ πραχθέντα ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ δηλωθῆναι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἡ χρόνος, ἢ λόγος, ἢ ῥήτωρ ἱκανὸς ἡμῖν γένοιτο μηνύσαι τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων ἀνδρῶν ἀρετήν; μὴ πλείστων γὰρ πόνων, καὶ φανερωτάτων ἀγώνων, καὶ καλλίστων κινδύνων, ἐλευθέραν μὲν ἐποίησε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μεγίστην δ' ἀπέδειξαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα· ἑβδομήκοντα μὲν ἔτη τὸ θαλάττης ἄρξαντες, ἀρχὰς δὲ πολλὰς ἐκόντες τὰς συμμάχους· καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς πολλοὺς δουλεύειν ἀξιώσαντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἅπασιν ἀναγκάσαντες· οὐδὲ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀσθενεῖς ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ κείνους ἰσχυροὺς καθιστάντες· καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν τοσαύτην ὑπεδείξαντες, ὥσθ' ὁ μέγας Βασιλεὺς ὄκνῳ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπεθύμει, ἀλλ' ἐδίδου τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῶν

λοιπῶν

λοιπῶν ἐφοβεῖτο. ᾗ οὔτε τριήρεις ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκ τῆς Ασίας ἔπλευσε, οὔτε τύραννος ἐν τοῖς Ελλησι κατέστη, οὔτε Ελληνὶς πόλις ὑπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἠνδραποδίσθη. τοσαύτην σωφροσύνην καὶ δέος ἡ τότων ἀρετὴ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρεῖχεν. ὧν ἕνεκα δὴ μόνους καὶ προστάτας τῶν Ελλήνων ᾗ ἡγεμόνας τῶν πόλεων γίγνεσθαι.

Επέδειξαν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δυσχρίαις τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρετήν. πολεμίων γὰρ τῶν νεῶν ἐν Ελλησπόντῳ, εἴτε ἡγεμόνος κακίᾳ, εἴτε Θεῶν βουλῇ, καὶ συμφορᾶς ἐκείνης μεγίστης γενομένης ᾗ ἡμῖν τοῖς δυστυχήσασι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ελλησιν, ἐδήλωσαν ὑ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ὅτι ἡ τῆς πόλεως δύναμις τὸ Ελλάδος ἦν σωτηρία. ἑτέρων γὰρ ἡγεμόνων γενομένων, ἐνίκησαν μὲν ναυμαχοῦντες τοὺς Ελληνας οἱ πρότερον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐκ ἐμβαίνοντες, ἔπλευσε δ' εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην· δουλεύουσι γὰρ αἱ πόλεις τῶν Ελλήνων, τύραννοι δ' ἐγκαθῆνται, οἱ μὲν, μετὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν συμφοράν, οἱ δὲ, μετὰ τὴν νίκην τῶν Βαρβάρων. ὥστ' ἄξιον ἦν ὀπὶ τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ τότε κεῖσθαι τὴν Ελλάδι, καὶ πενθῆσαι τοὺς ἐνθάδε κειμένους, ὡς συγκαταθαπτομένης τὸ αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας τῇ τότων ἀρετῇ· ὡς δυστυχὴς μὲν ἡ Ελλὰς τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν ὀρφανὴ γενομένη, εὐτυχὴς δ' ὁ τῆς Ασίας βασιλεύς, ἑτέρων ἡγεμόνων λαβόμενος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τότων στερηθείσῃ δουλεία παρέστηκε, τῷ δ' ἄλλων ἀρξάντων ζῆλος ἐγγένεται τὸ τῶν προγόνων θάρσους.

Αλλὰ

Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐξήχθω ὑπὲρ πάσης ὁλοφύρεσθαι τ Ελλάδ@. ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄξιον καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ μεμνῆσθ, οἱ φεύγοντες τὴν δουλείαν, καὶ σὺν δίκαιῳ μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας φασάσαν-
5 τες, πρόβας πολεμίους κεκτημένοι, εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατῆλθον, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμου ἀναγκασθέντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως πεισθέντες, καὶ οἷς κινδύνοις τὴν παλαιὰν τ προγόνων ἀρετὴν μιμησάμενοι, ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς κοινὸν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτησάμενοι, θάνατον μὲν ἐλευθερίας
10 αἱρούμενοι, ἢ βίον μετὰ δουλείας· οὐχ ἧττον ταῖς συμφοραῖς αἰχμώμενοι, ἢ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· μᾶλλον βουληθέντες ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢ ζῆν τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν οἰκοῦντες, συμμάχους μὲν ὅρκοις καὶ συνθήκας ἔχοντες, πολεμίους δὲ τὰς φρόντιδας ὑπάρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πολίτας
15 τοὺς ἑαυτῶν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑ τὸ πλῆθ@ τ ἐναντίων φοβηθέντες, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδυνεύσαντες, τροπαίων μὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἔστησαν, μάρτυρας δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἐγγὺς ὄντας τοῦδε τοῦ μνήματος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τάφους παρέχονται· καὶ γάρτοι μεγάλην μὲν ἀπὸ μακρᾶς
20 ἀπέδειξαν τ πόλιν, ὁμοσθῦσαι δὲ ἀπὸ σπαζόσης ἀπέφηναν, τεῖχη ἢ ἀντὶ τῶν καθῃρημένων ἀνέστησαν. οἱ ἢ καταλθόντες αὐτῶν, ἀδελφὰ τὰ βουλεύματα τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, οὐκ ὀπὶ πωλείαν τοῦ ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλ' ὀπὶ σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐτράποντο· καὶ

ὕπο

ὅτε ἐλαττῶσθαι δυνάμενοι, οὔτ' αὐτοὶ πλέον ἔχειν δεόμενοι, τῆς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις δουλεύειν μετέδωκαν, τῆς δ' ἐκείνων δουλείας αὐτοὶ μετέσχειν οὐκ ἠξίωσαν. ἔργοις δὲ μεγίστοις καὶ καλλίστοις ἀπελογίσαντο, ὅτι οὐ κακίᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀρετῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἧττον ἐδυστύχησεν ἡ πόλις. εἰ γὰρ στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, βίᾳ παρόντων Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐχθρῶν, εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν οἷοί τε ἐγίνοντο κατελθεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι ῥᾳδίως ἂν ὁμονοοῦντες πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐδύναντο. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ κινδύνους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζηλοῦνται. Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς ἐνθάδε κειμένους ἐπαινέσαι, οἳ τῷ πλήθει βοηθήσαντες, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας μαχόμενοι, πατρίδα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡγησάμενοι, τοιαύτην τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν ἐποιήσαντο· ἀνθ' ὧν ἡ πόλις αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπένθησε καὶ ἔθαψε δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἄπαντα χρόνον τοὺς αὐτοὺς τιμὰς τοῖς ἀστοῖς.

Οἱ δὲ νῦν θαπτόμενοι, βοηθήσαντες Κορινθίοις ὑπὸ παλαιῶν φίλων ἀδικουμένοις, καινοὶ σύμμαχοι γενόμενοι, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν νόμιμα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες, (οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀγαθὰ αὐτοῖς ἐφθόνουν, οἱ δὲ ἀδικουμένους αὐτοὺς ἠλέουν) οὔτε τῆς παρούσης ἔχθρας μεμνημένοι, ἀλλὰ τὴν παροῦσαν φιλίαν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενοι,) πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φανερὰν τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο. ἐτόλμησαν γὰρ, μεγάλην ποιοῦντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὐ μόνον περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν

σωτηρίας

σωτηρίας κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν. τοῖς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων συμμάχοις περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας ἐμάχοντο. νικήσαντες μὲν γὰρ, ἐκείνους τῶν αὐτῶν ἠξίουν· δυστυχήσαντες δὲ, βέβαιον τὴν δουλείαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ κατέλιπον. ἐκείνοις μὲν οὖν οὕτω ξυγκεκιμένοις ὁ βίος οἰκτρὸς καὶ ὁ θάνατος εὐκτός· οὗτοι δὲ, καὶ ζῶντες καὶ ἀποθανόντες, ζηλωτοί· παιδευθέντες μὲν ἐν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀγαθοῖς, ἄνδρες δὲ ἡμῖν γενόμενοι, τήν τε ἐκείνων δόξαν ξυσώσαντες, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείξαντες. πολλῶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ καλῶν αἴτιοι γεγένηνται τῇ ἑαυτῶν πατρίδι, ἐπανορθώσασι δὲ τὰ ὑφ' ἑτέρων δυστυχηθέντα, πόρρω δ' ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν πόλεως κατέστησαν. ἐτελεύτησαν δὲ τὸν βίον ὥσπερ χρὴ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποθνήσκειν, τῇ μὲν πατρίδι τὰ προσήκοντα ἀποδόντες, τοῖς δὲ θρέψασι λύπας καταλιπόντες. ὥστε ἄξιον τοῖς ζῶσι τούτους πωθεῖν, καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὀλοφύρεσθαι, ὡς τοὺς προσήκοντας αὐτῶν ἐλεεῖν δι' ὀλιγοστὸν βίου. τίς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἡδονὴν καταλείπεται, τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν ἀπομοιρῶν, οἳ πάντα περὶ ἐλάττονος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡγούμενοι, αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀπετέρησαν βίου, χήρας δὲ γυναῖκας ἐποίησαν; ὀρφανοὺς δὲ τοὺς αὐτῶν παῖδας ἀπέλιπον; ἐρήμους δ' ἀδελφοὺς καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας κατέστησαν; Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δεινῶν ὑπαρχόντων, τοὺς μὲν παῖδας αὐτῶν ζηλῶ, ὅτι νεώτεροί εἰσιν, ἢ ὥστε εἰδέναι οἵων πατέρων ἐστέρηνται· ἐξ ὧν δ' οὗτοι γεγόνασιν οἰκτείρω,

τείρω, ὅτι πρεσβύτεροι ἢ ὥστε ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῆς δυσχερείας τῆς ἑαυτῶν. τί γὰρ ἂν τούτων ἀνιαρότερον ἦν, ἢ τεκεῖν μὲν καὶ θρέψαι καὶ ἆψαι τοὺς αὐτῶν, αὐτὴν δὲ τῷ γήρᾳ ἀδυνάτους μὴ εἶναι τῷ σώματι, παῖδων δ' ἀπεστερημένους τὰς ἐλπίδων, ἀφίλους καὶ ἄπαιδας γεγονέναι; τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν πρότερον ζηλωτόν, ἢ νῦν ἐλεεινόν; πρόθυμότερον δ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸ θάνατον τοῦ βίου; ὅσῳ γὰρ ἄνδρες ἀμείνους ἦσαν, τοσούτῳ τοῖς καταλειπομένοις ὁ πόνος μεῖζον. πῶς δ' αὐτοὺς χρὴ λῆξαι τῆς λύπης; πότερον αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως συμφορᾶς; ἀλλὰ τότε αὐτῶν εἰκὸς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μεμνῆσθαι. ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ταῖς κοιναῖς; ἀλλ' ἱκανὸν λυπῆσαι, τῶν μὲν ἑτέρων τέκνων τετελευτηκότων, τῶν δὲ ζώντων ἀπολωλυόντων τοῦτων ἀρετῆς. ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις; ὅταν ὁρῶσι τοὺς μὴ πρότερον ὄντας φίλους, φοβούμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπορίαν, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς, μέγα φρονοῦντας ὅτι ταῖς δυσχερείαις ταῖς τούτων; μόνην δ' ἄν μοι δοκῶμεν ταύτην τοῖς ἐνθάδε κειμένοις ἀποδοῦναι χάριν, εἰ τοὺς μὲν τοκέας αὐτῶν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὕτως ἀναθρεψόμεθα ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ πατέρες ὄντες· ταῖς γὰρ γυναιξὶν εἰ τοιούτους βοηθοὺς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχοιμεν οἵπερ ἐκεῖνοι ζῶντες ἦσαν. τίνας γὰρ ἂν εἰκότως μᾶλλον τιμῶμεν τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων; τίνας δ' ἂν τῶν ζώντων δικαιότερον πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα, ἢ τοὺς τούτοις προσήκοντας; οἱ τῶν μὲν τούτων ἀρετῆς ὅσον τοῖς

ἄλλοις

ἄλλοις ἀπέλαυσε, ἀποθανόντων δὲ μόνοι γνησίως τῆς δυσ-
τυχίας μετέχουσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπι δὴ τοιαῦτα ὀλο-
φύρεται. ὁ γὰρ ἐλαυθάνομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὄντες θνητοί· ὅτι
πάλαι δὴ, ἃ πάλαι προσεδεκῶμεν πείσεσθαι, ὑπὲρ τούτων
νῦν ἄχθεσθαι; ἢ λίαν οὕτω βαρέως φέρειν ὅτι ταῖς τῆς
φύσεως συμφοραῖς, ὑπεραμύνους ὅτι ὁ θάνατος κοινὸς ἡ
τοῖς χειρίστοις καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις; οὔτε γὰρ τὰς πατρῴας
ὑπερορᾷ, οὔτε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς θαυμάζει, ἀλλ' ἴσον ἑαυτὸν
παρέχει πᾶσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν τοῖς τὰς ἐν τῷ πο-
λέμῳ κινδύνους διαφυγοῦσιν ἀθανάτους εἶναι τὸν λοιπὸν
χρόνον, ἄξιον ἦν τοῖς ζῶσι τὰ ἅπαντα χρόνον πενθεῖν τοὺς
τεθνεῶτας. νῦν δὲ ἥτε φύσις καὶ νόσων ἥτταν καὶ γήρως,
ὅ, τε δαίμων ὁ τὴν ἡμετέραν μοῖραν εἰληχὼς ἀπαραίτη-
τος. ὥστε προσήκει τούτους εὐδαιμονεστάτους ἡγεῖσθαι, οἵτινες
ὑπὲρ μεγίστων καὶ καλλίστων κινδυνεύσαντες, οὕτως τὸν
βίον ἐτελεύτησαν· οὐκ ὑπεξέφαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῇ τύ-
χῃ, οὐδὲ ἀναμείναντες τὸ αὐτόματον θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐκ-
λεξάμενοι τὸν κάλλιστον. καὶ γάρ τοι ἀγήρατοι μὲν αὐτῶν
αἱ μνῆμαι, ζηλωταὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἱ
τιμαί· οἱ πεπόνθασι μὲν ἀφ' ἧς φύσιν ὡς θνητοὶ, ὑμνοῦνται
δὲ ὡς ἀθάνατοι ἀφ' ἧς ἀρετήν. καὶ γάρ τοι δαπάνης δη-
μοσίᾳ καὶ ἀγῶνες πέπεκται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ῥώμης καὶ σοφίας
καὶ πλούτου, ὡς ἀξίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελε-
λευτηκότας ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους τιμᾶ-
σθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς καὶ μακαρίζω δι' θανάτου καὶ

ζηλω, καὶ μόνοις τούτοις ἀνθρώπων οὐμοι κρεῖττον εἶ γενέσθαι, οἵτινες ἐπειδὴ θνητῶν σωμάτων ἔτυχον, ἀθάνατον μνήμην ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν κατέλιπον. ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι, καὶ θεραπεύοντας τὰ πάτριον νόμον, ὀλοφύρεσθαι τοὺς θανόμενους.

ΥΠΕΡΙΔΟΥ τὸ σωζόμενον.

— Χαλεπὸν μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ὄγκοις πάθεσι παραμυθεῖσθαι· τὰ γὰρ πένθη οὔτε λόγῳ οὔτε νόμῳ κοιμίζεται· ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἑκάστου καὶ φιλία πρὸς τὰ τελευτήσαντα ὁρισμὸν ἔχει τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι. ὅμως δὲ χρὴ θαρρεῖν, καὶ τῆς λύπης παύεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀνεκτότερον· καὶ μεμνῆσθαι μὴ μόνον τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἧς καταλελοίπασιν. οὐ γὰρ θρήνων ἄξια πεπόνθασιν, ἀλλ' ἐπαίνων μεγάλων πεποίηκασιν. εἰ δὴ γήρως ἀνθρώπου μὴ μετέσχον, ἀλλ' εὐδοξίαν ἀγήρατον εἰλήφασι, καὶ εὐδαίμονές τε γεγόνασι τὴν σωτηρίαν. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἄπαιδες τετελευτήκασι, οἱ κοινοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπαινοι παῖδες αὐτῶν ἀθάνατοι ἔσονται· ὅσοι δὲ παῖδας καταλελοίπασιν, ἡ τῆς πατρίδος εὔνοια ὑπάρξει αὐτοῖς τῶν παίδων κηδεστής. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἔστι τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὅμοιον τῷ μὴ γενέσθαι, ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἰσὶ νόσων καὶ λύπης, ἓ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς προσπιπτόντων εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον. εἰ δ' ἔστιν αἴσθησις ἐν ᾅδου καὶ ἐπιμέλεια τοῖς δαιμόνιοις, ὥσπερ ὑπολαμβάνομεν, εἴη τοὺς ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν θεῶν καταλυομένοις βοηθήσασθαι, πλείστης εὐδαιμονίας ὑπὸ δαιμονίου τυγχάνειν.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

περὶ τῶν Στρατηγῶν ἀπολομψάντων. ΑΝΑΒ. β'.

ΟΙ ΜΕΝ δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες, ἀνήχθησαν ὡς βασιλέα, καὶ ἀπολομβάνοντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν· ἦν μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος, ὁμολογουμένως οὐκ πάντων τῶν ἐμπείρως αὐτῷ ἐχόντων, δόξας ἀνὴρ εἶναι πολεμικὸς καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἐκ παίδων. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Αθηναίους, παρέμενεν· ἐπεὶ δ' εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, στείσας τὴν αὑτοῦ πόλιν ὡς οἱ Θρᾷκες ἀδικοῦντι τοὺς Ελληνας, καὶ συμπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο μάλιστα τὴν Εφόρων, ἐξέπλει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερρονήσου καὶ Πεισίνθου Θραξίν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγνόντες πως οἱ Εφοροι, ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρῶντο ἐξ Ισθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ᾤχετο πλέων εἰς Ελλήσποντον. Ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐξανατάσθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τελῶν, ὡς ἀπειθῶν. Ἤδη δὲ φυγὰς ὢν ἤρχε πρὸς Κύρον· καὶ οἷς μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε Κῦρον, ἀλλαχοῦ γέγραπται. δίδωσι δ' αὐτῷ Κῦρος μυρίους δαρεικούς· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν, οὐχ ὅπῃ ῥᾳθυμίαν ἐπήσκησε, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλλέξας στράτευμα, ἐπολέμησε τοῖς Θραξί· καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔφερε, καὶ ἦγεν αὐτούς· καὶ πολεμῶν

πολεμῶν διεγένετο, μέχρις οὗ Κῦρος ἐδεήθη τῶν στρατεύματος· τότε δ' ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὖ πολεμήσων.

Ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου δοκῇ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις, ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης, αἱρεῖται πολεμεῖν· ἐξὸν δὲ ῥᾳθυμεῖν, βούλεται πονεῖν ὥστε πολεμεῖν· ἐξὸν ἢ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως, αἱρεῖται πολεμῶν μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν. Ἐκεῖνος ἦ, ὥσπερ εἰς παιδικά, ἢ εἰς ἄλλην τινὰ ἡδονήν, ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον· οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν. Πολεμικὸς δὲ αὖ ταύτῃ ἦ εἐδοκεῖ, ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ὅτι τὰς πολεμίους, καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὡς ἅπαντες σχεδὸν ἄνθρωποι ὁμολογοῦσιν. Καὶ ἀρχικὸς δὲ ἐλέγετο ἦ, ὡς δυνατὸν, ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων τρόπων, οἷς καὶ ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν· ἰσχνὸς μὲν γάρ, ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος, φροντίζειν ἦν, ὅπως ἕξει ἡ σκευὴ αὐτῷ τὰ ὑποδήδεια, καὶ ὡδασκάλιζεν ταῦτα· ἰσχνὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς πρόσθεν, ὡς οὐκ ἀπιστέον εἶπε Κλεάρχῳ. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾶν σφοδρὸς ἦν, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ σκληρός· ἐκόλαζέ τε αἰεὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῆ ἐνόει, ὥστε καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν ἔνθ' ὅτε. καὶ γνώμην δὲ ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο ὄφελος εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὡς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς φυλάξειν, ἢ φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι, ἢ ἀπειθείας ἕνεκα τοῦς τοὺς πολεμίους. Ἐν

μὲν

μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤθελον αὐτῷ ἀκόλουθοι σφόδρα, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ἡρῶντο ⟨1⟩ στρατηγόν. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τότε φαιδρὸν αὐτῷ ὂν τοῖς πρόσωποις ἔφαινε φαιδρόν, καὶ ὃ χαλεπὸν, ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τὴν πολεμίους εὐθυμίᾳ εἶναι· ὥστε σωτήριον καὶ ὑκέτι χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνετο. Ὅτε δ' ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιντο, καὶ ὄξεῖν πρὸς ἄλλους ἀρχομένους ἀπέναι, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· ὃ γὰρ ὑπῆχαεν οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ χαλεπὸς καὶ ὠμὸς ἦν· ὥστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ⟨2⟩ στρατιῶται, ὥσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον· καὶ γὰρ οὖν φιλίᾳ μὲ καὶ εὐνοίᾳ ἐπομένους οὐδέποτ' εἶχεν· οἵτινες δὲ ἢ ἐκ πόλεως πεφυγμένοι, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ δεσμοῦ, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενοι πρεῖσσαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθομένοις ἐχρῆτο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἤρξατο νικᾶν σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους, μεγάλα ἤδη ἦν τὰ χρησίμως ποιοῦντα εἶναι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· τό, τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θαῤῥαλέως ἔχειν παρῆν, καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς εὐτάκτους ἐποίει. Τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ ἄλλων ὃ μάλα ἐθέλειν ἐλέγετο. Ἦν δ', ὅτε ἐτελεύτα, ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.

Πρόξενος δ' ὁ Βοιώτιος, εὐθὺς μὲν μειρακίσκον ὤν, ἐπεθύμει ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἱκανός. καὶ δὴ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γοργίᾳ ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίνῳ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἱκανὸς ἤδη νομίσας εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν, καὶ φίλος ὢν τοῖς πρώτοις, μὴ πᾶσαν εὐεργετῶν, ἤλ-

ἦν

θεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ στρατείας· καὶ ὥετο κτήσεσθαι οὐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα, καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην, καὶ χρήματα πολλά· τούτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν, σφόδρα ἔνδηλον αὖ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχεν, ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν θέλοι κλαπῆναι μὴ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ ὥετο δεῖν τούτων τυγχάνειν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μή. Ἀρχειν δὲ καλῶν μὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἱκανὸς ἦν· οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβου ἱκανὸς ἐμποιῆσαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡσσᾶτο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἐκεῖνον· καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἦν φίλος ὃν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἢ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. Ὥετο δὴ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς ὃ ἀρχικὸν εἶ καὶ δοκεῖν, τὸ μὲ καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὴ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. Τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἄδικοι ἐπεβούλευον, ὡς εὐμηχανεστέρῳ ὄντι. Ὅτε δὴ ἀπέθνησκεν, ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τεττάρακοντα.

Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλούτου ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὴ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι· ἐπιθυμῶν δὴ παιδεύεσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαίνοι· φίλος τ' ἐβούλετο εἶ τοῖς μέγιστον δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ δίδοιη δίκην. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν ἐπιθυμοίη, σωτομωτάτῳ ἐδόκει ὥελο εἶ χρῆσθαι τῷ ἐπορκεῖν τε, καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν· τὸ δὲ ἁπλοῦν τε καὶ ἀληθές, τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἠλιθίῳ εἶναι. Στέργων δὲ φανερὸς μὲν ἦν οὐδένα· ὅτῳ δὲ φαίη φίλῳ εἶ, τούτῳ ἔνδηλος ἦν ἐπιβουλεύων. Καὶ πολεμίους

λεμίου μὲν θόδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συμόντων πάντων ὡς καταγελῶν αἰεὶ διελέγετο. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· (χαλεπὸν γὰρ φέρε εἶναι τὰ τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν) τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος φέρε εἰδέναι ὅτι ῥᾷστον ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. Καὶ ὅσους μὲν ἠδίκουν ὑπόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους, ὡς εὖ ὡπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο· τοῖς δ' ὁσίοις καὶ ἀληθέσιν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι. Ωσπερ δέ τις ἀγάλλεται ὑπὸ θεοσεβείας, καὶ ἀληθείας, καὶ δικαιότητι, οὕτω καὶ Μένων ἠγάλλετο τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψευδῆ, τῷ φίλους ἀφαγελᾶν· τὸ δὲ μὴ σπουδάζειν, ἀπαιδαγώγητον νόμιζεν εἶναι. Καὶ πρὸς οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει σοφιστεύειν φιλίᾳ, ἀφαβάλλων τοὺς σοφοὺς, τούτους ᾤετο δεῖν κτήσασθαι. Τὸ δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας πρέπειν, οὐκ ἔφη συμφέρειν αὐτοῖς ἐμμένειν ῥήμασι. Τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ στρατηγεῖσθαι ἠξίου, ὑπισχνούμενος ὅτι πλεῖστα δύναιτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀφελεῖν. Εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὁπότε τις αὐτῷ ἀφίσατο, ὅτι χρήμασιν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. Καὶ τὸ μὴ δικάζεσθαι ἔξεστι τοῖς αὐτῷ φιλοῦσιν· ἃ δὲ πολῖται ἴσασι, ταῦτ' ἐᾷ. Παρὰ Λευσίππῳ μὲν, ἔτι ὡραῖος ὢν, στρατηγεῖν διεπράξατο τῶν ξένων· Λευσίῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι μειρακίοις καλοῖς ἥδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὡραῖος ὢν ἐγένετο· αὐτὸς γὰρ παιδικὰ εἶχε Θαρύπτολεμον, ἀγένειον ὄντα καὶ γυναικῶντα. Αποθνῄσκοντων γὰρ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι ἐστράτευσαν ὑπὸ βασιλέα σὺν Κύρῳ,

Κύρῳ, τὰ αὐτὰ πεποιηκὼς οὐκ ἀπέθανε· μὴ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων θάνατον στρατηγῶν, τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν, ὑχ ὥσπερ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλάς· (ὅσπερ κάλλιστος θανάτων ἐδόκει εἶναι) ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς σκιαποδὸς, ὡς πονηρὸς, λέγεται τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.

Ἀγίας δ' ὁ Ἀρκὰς, καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ τούτω ἀπεθανέτην· τούτων δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν κατεγέλα, οὔτ' ἐς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο. Ἦσαν τε ἄμφω ἀμφὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ ἡλικίας.

M. T. CICERONIS

Sententiæ de iis honore augendis, qui periculum vitæ adierunt Reipub. cauſa.

De Ser. Sulpicio *ornando.* Philipp. IX.

VELLEM, dii immortales feciſſent, Patres conſcripti, ut vivo potius Ser. Sulpicio gratias ageremus, quam mortuo honores quæreremus. ——

Si Ser. Sulpicio caſus mortem attuliſſet, dolerem quidem tanto reip. vulnere: mortem vero ejus non monumentis, ſed luctu publico eſſe honorandam putarem. Nunc autem quis dubitat, quin ei vitam abſtulerit ipſa legatio? Secum enim ille mortem extulit: quam, ſi nobiſcum remaniſſet, ſua cura, optimi filii, fideliſſimæque conjugis diligentia vitare potuiſſet. — Reddite igitur, P. C. ei vitam, cui ademiſtis. Vita enim mortuorum in memoria vivorum eſt poſita. Perficite, ut is, quem vos ad mortem inſcii miſiſtis, immortalitatem habeat a vobis. — Grati ſimus in ejus morte decoranda, cui nullam jam aliam gratiam referre poſſumus. — Quas ob res ita cenſeo; CUM Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemonia, Rufus difficillimo Reipublicæ tempore, gravi, periculoſoque morbo affectus, auctoritatem Senatus, ſalutemque Reipublicæ vitæ ſuæ præpoſuerit, con-

traque vim gravitatemque morbi contenderit, ut in caſtra Antonii, quo Senatus eum miſerat, perveniret: iſque, cum jam prope caſtra veniſſet, vi morbi oppreſſus, vitam amiſerit in maximo Reipublicæ munere: ejuſque mors conſentanea vitæ fuerit, ſanctiſſime, honeſtiſſimeque actæ, in qua ſæpe magno uſui Reipublicæ Ser. Sulpicius & privatus, & in magiſtratibus fuerit: Cum talis vir ob Rempublicam in legatione mortem obierit; Senatui placere, Ser. Sulpicio ſtatuam pedeſtrem æneam in Roſtris ex hujus ordinis ſententia ſtatui; circumque eam ſtatuam locum ludis, gladiatoribuſque, liberos poſteroſque ejus quoquoverſus pedes quinque, habere; quod is ob Rempublicam mortem obierit; eamque cauſam in baſi inſcribi: utique C. Panſa, A. Hirtius, Conſules, alter ambove, ſi eis videatur, Quæſtoribus urbanis imperent, ut eam baſim, ſtatuamque faciendam, & in Roſtris ſtatuendam locent: quantique locaverint, tantam pecuniam redemptori ſolvendam, attribuendamque curent. Cumque antea Senatus auctoritatem ſuam in virorum fortium funeribus ornamentiſque oſtenderit, placere, eum quam ampliſſime ſupremo die ſuo efferri. Et, cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemonia, Rufus, ita de Republica meritus ſit, ut his ornamentis decorari debeat, Senatum cenſere, atque e Republica exiſtimare, Ædiles curules edictum, quod de funeribus habeant, Ser. Sulpicii Q. F.

Lemonia,

Lemonia, Rufi, funeri remittere : utique locum ſepulcro in campo Eſquilino Panſa Conſul, ſeu quo in loco videbitur, pedes triginta quoquoverſus adſignet, quo Ser. Sulpicius inferatur. Quod ſepulcrum, ipſius, liberorum, poſterorumque ejus eſſet : uti quod optimo jure publice ſepulcrum datum eſſet.

De cæſis ad Mutinam. PHIL. XIV.

IS demum eſt meâ quidem ſententiâ juſtus triumphus ac verus ; cum bene de Republicâ meritis teſtimonium à conſenſu civitatis datur.

---CUM Supplicationes juſtiſſimas ex iis literis, quæ recitatæ ſunt, decernere debeamus, Serviliuſque decreverit : augebo omnino numerum dierum, præſertim cum non uni, ſed communiter tribus ducibus ſint decernendæ. Sed hoc primum faciam, ut Imperatores appellem eos, quorum virtute, conſilio, felicitate, maximis periculis ſervitutis atque interitûs liberati ſumus. —— *Quin* hoc ipſo nomine & eos, qui jam devicti ſunt, & eos qui ſuperſunt, Hoſtes judico, cum victores appello Imperatores. Quomodo enim potius Panſam appellem ? etſi habet honoris nomen ampliſſimi ? Quo Hirtium ? eſt ille quidem conſul : ſed alterum nomen beneficii eſt populi Romani ; alterum, virtutis atque victoriæ. Quid ?

Quid? Cæsarem, Deorum beneficio reipublicæ procreatum, dubitemne appellare Imperatorem? Qui primus Antonii immanem & fœdam crudelitatem, non solum à jugulis nostris, sed etiam à membris & visceribus avertit. Unius autem diei quot & quantæ virtutes, Dii immortales, fuerunt!

Princeps enim omnium Pansa prœlii faciendi, & cum Antonio confligendi fuit, dignus Imperator legione Martia, digna legio Imperatore: cujus si acerrimum impetum cohibere Pansa potuisset, uno prœlio confecta res esset. Sed cum libertatis avida legio effrænatius in aciem hostium irrupisset, ipseque in primis Pansa pugnaret, duobus periculosis vulneribus acceptis, sublatus è prœlio, reipublicæ vitam reservavit. Ego vero hunc non solum Imperatorem, sed etiam clarissimum Imperatorem judico: qui cum aut morte, aut victoria se satisfacturum reipublicæ spopondisset; alterum fecit, alterius Dii immortales omen avertant!

Quid dicam de Hirtio? qui, re audita, è castris duas legiones eduxit incredibili studio atque virtute: Quartam illam, quæ, relicto Antonio, se olim cum Martia legione conjunxit, & Septimam, quæ constituta ex veteranis docuit illo prœlio, militibus iis, qui Cæsaris beneficia servassent, senatus populique Romani carum nomen esse. His viginti cohortibus, nullo equitatu, Hirtius

ipse

ipſe, aquilam Quartæ legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem ſpeciem Imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii legionibus, equitatuque conflixit, hoſteſque nefarios, huic Jovi maximo, cæteriſque Deorum immortalium templis, urbis tectis, libertati populi Romani, noſtræ vitæ ſanguinique imminentes proſtravit, fudit, occidit; ut cum admodum paucis, nocte tectus, metu perterritus, princeps latronum duxque fugerit. O ſolem ipſum beatiſſimum, qui antequam ſe abderet, ſtratis cadaveribus parricidarum, cum paucis fugientem vidit Antonium!

An vero quiſquam dubitabit appellare Cæſarem Imperatorem? Ætas ejus certe ab hac ſententia neminem deterrebit, quandoquidem virtute ſuperavit ætatem. Ac mihi ſemper eo majora beneficia C. Cæſaris viſa ſunt, quo minus erant ab ætate illa poſtulanda: cui cum Imperium, eodem tempore, etiam ſpem nominis ejus deferebamus: quod, cum eſt ſecutus auctoritatem noſtri decreti, rebus geſtis ſuis comprobavit. Hic ergo adoleſcens maximi animi, ut veriſſime ſcribit Hirtius, caſtra multarum legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus eſt, ſecundumque prœlium fecit. Ita trium Imperatorum virtute, conſilio, felicitate, uno die locis pluribus reſpublica eſt conſervata. Decerno igitur eorum trium nomine quinquaginta dierum Supplicationes: cauſas, ut honorificentiſſimis

centiſſimis verbis conſequi potero, complectar ſententia.

Eſt autem fidei, pietatiſque noſtræ, declarare fortiſſimis militibus, quam memores ſimus, quamque grati. Quamobrem promiſſa noſtra, atque ea, quæ legionibus, bello confecto, tributuros nos ſpopondimus, hodierno ſenatus-conſulto renovanda cenſeo. Æquum eſt enim militum, talium præſertim, honorem conjungi.

Atque utinam, Patres conſcripti, civibus omnibus ſolvere nobis præmia liceret! Quanquam nos ea, quæ promiſimus, ſtudioſe cumulata reddemus. Sed id quidem reſtat, ut ſpero, victoribus, quibus ſenatus fides præſtatur: quam quidem cum difficillimo reipublicæ tempore ſecuti ſunt, eos nunquam oportebit conſilii ſui pœnitere. Sed facile eſt bene agere cum iis, à quibus etiam tacentibus flagitari videmur. Illud admirabilius & majus, maximeque proprium ſenatus ſapientis eſt, grata eorum virtutem memoria proſequi, qui pro patria vitam profuderunt. Quorum de honore utinam mihi plura in mentem venirent! duo certe non præteribo, quæ maxime occurrunt: quorum alterum pertinet ad virorum fortiſſimorum gloriam ſempiternam; alterum ad leniendum mœrorem & luctum proximorum.

Placet igitur mihi, Patres conſcripti, legionis Martiæ militibus, & eis, qui una pugnantes occiderunt, monumentum fieri quàm ampliſſimum.

Magna

Magna atque incredibilia ſunt in rempublicam hujus merita legionis. Hæc ſe prima latrocinio abrupit Antonii: hæc tenuit Albam: hæc ſe ad Cæſarem contulit: hanc imitata Quarta legio parem virtutis gloriam conſecuta eſt. Quarta victrix deſiderat neminem. Ex Martia nonnulli in ipſa victoria conciderunt. O fortunata mors! quæ naturæ debita, pro patria eſt potiſſimum reddita.

Vos vero patriæ natos judico, quorum etiam nomen à Marte eſt: ut idem Deus urbem hanc gentibus, vos huic urbi genuiſſe videatur. In fuga, fœda mors eſt; in victoria, glorioſa. Etenim Mars ipſe ex acie fortiſſimum quemque pignerari ſolet. Illi igitur impii, quos cecidiſtis, etiam ad inferos pœnas parricidii luent. Vos vero, qui extremum ſpiritum in victoria effudiſtis, piorum eſtis ſedem & locum conſecuti. Brevis à natura nobis vita data eſt: at memoria bene redditæ vitæ ſempiterna. Quæ ſi non eſſet longior, quam hæc vita; quis eſſet tam amens, qui maximis laboribus & periculis ad ſummam laudem gloriamque contenderet?

Actum igitur præclare vobiſcum, fortiſſimi dum vixiſtis, nunc vero etiam ſanctiſſimi milites, quod veſtra virtus nec oblivione eorum, qui nunc ſunt, nec reticentia poſterorum inſepulta eſſe poterit; cum vobis immortale monumentum ſuis pene manibus ſenatus populuſque Romanus extruxerit. Multi ſæpe exercitus Punicis, Gallicis, Italicis

Italicis bellis clari & magni fuerunt: nec tamen ullis tale genus honoris tributum eſt. Atque utinam majora poſſemus, quandoquidem à vobis maxima accepimus! Vos ab urbe furentem Antonium avertiſtis: vos redire molientem repuliſtis. Erit igitur extructa moles opere magnifico, inciſæque literæ divinæ virtutis teſtes ſempiternæ: nunquam de vobis, eorum, qui aut videbunt veſtrum monumentum, aut audient, gratiſſimus ſermo conticeſcet. Ita pro mortali conditione vitæ immortalitatem eſtis conſecuti.

Sed quoniam, Patres conſcripti, gloriæ munus optimis, & fortiſſimis civibus monumenti honore perſolvitur, conſolemur eorum proximos, quibus optima eſt hæc quidem conſolatio: parentibus, quòd tanta reipublicæ præſidia genuerunt: liberis, quòd habebunt domeſtica exempla virtutis: conjugibus, quòd iis viris carebunt, quos laudare quàm lugere præſtabit: fratribus, quòd in ſe, ut corporum, ſic virtutum ſimilitudinem eſſe confident. Atque utinam his omnibus abſtergere fletum ſententiis noſtris, conſultiſque poſſemus; vel aliqua talis his adhiberi publice poſſet oratio, qua deponerent mœrorem atque luctum, gauderentque potius, cum multa et varia impenderent hominibus genera mortis, id genus, quod eſſet pulcherrimum, ſuis obtigiſſe, eoſque nec inhumatos eſſe, nec deſertos: (quod tamen ipſum pro patria non miſerandum putatur:) nec diſperſis buſtis humili

mili sepultura crematos, sed contectos publicis operibus, atque muneribus, eaque extructione, quæ sit ad memoriam æternitatis ARA VIRTUTIS.

Quamobrem maximum quidem solatium erit propinquorum, eodem monumento declarari, & virtutem suorum & pietatem, & senatûs fidem, & crudelissimi memoriam belli; in quo, nisi tanta militum virtus extitisset, parricidio M. Antonii nomen populi Romani occidisset. Atque etiam censeo, Patres conscripti, quæ præmia militibus promisimus nos, republica recuperata, tributuros, ea vivis, victoribusque cumulate, cum tempus venerit, persolvenda: qui autem ex iis, quibus illa promissa sunt, pro patria occiderunt, eorum parentibus, liberis, conjugibus, fratribus eadem tribuenda censeo.

Sed ut aliquando sententia complectar, ita censeo: CUM C. Pansa, cos. Imperator, initium cum hostibus confligendi fecerit, quo prœlio legio Martia admirabili incredibilique virtute libertatem populi Romani defenderit; quod idem legiones tironum fecerint; ipseque C. Pansa cos. Imperator, cum inter media hostium tela versaretur, vulnera acceperit: Cumque A. Hirtius cos. Imperator, prœlio audito, & cognito, fortissimo præstantissimoque animo exercitum castris eduxerit, impetumque in M. Antonium exercitumque hostium fecerit, ejusque copias occisione

occiderit, ſuo exercitu ita incolumi, ut ne unum quidem militem deſideraverit: Cumque C. Cæſar, Imperator, conſilio, diligentiaque ſua caſtra feliciter defenderit, copiaſque hoſtium, quæ ad caſtra acceſſerant, profligarit, occiderit: ob eas res Senatum exiſtimare, & judicare eorum trium Imperatorum virtute, imperio, conſilio, gravitate, conſtantia, magnitudine animi, felicitate, populum Romanum fœdiſſima crudeliſſimaque ſervitute liberatum. Cumque Rempublicam, urbem, templa Deorum immortalium, bona, fortunaſque omnium, liberoſque conſervarint dimicatione, & periculo vitæ ſuæ: uti ob eas res bene, fortiter, feliciterque geſtas, C. Panſa, A. Hirtius, Conſules, Imperatores, alter ambove, aut, ſi aberunt, M. Cornutus, Prætor urbanus, Supplicationes per dies quinquaginta ad omnia pulvinaria conſtituat. Cumque virtus legionum digna clariſſimis Imperatoribus extiterit: Senatum, quæ ſit antea pollicitus legionibus, exercitibuſque noſtris, ea ſummo ſtudio, republica recuperata, perſoluturum. Cumque legio Martia princeps cum hoſtibus conflixerit, atque ita cum majore numero hoſtium contenderit, ut plurimos cæderent, caperent nonnullos: Cumque ſine ulla retractatione pro patria vitam profuderint: Cumque ſimili virtute reliquarum legionum milites pro ſalute & libertate populi Romani mortem oppetiverint: Senatui placere, ut C. Panſa, A. Hirtius, Conſules, Imperatores,

peratores, alter ambove, ſi his videatur, iis qui ſanguinem pro vita, libertate, fortuniſque populi Romani, pro urbe, templiſque Deorum immortalium profudiſſent, monumentum quàm ampliſſimum locandum, faciendum curent: Quæſtores urbis ad eam rem pecuniam dare, attribuere, ſolvere jubeant; ut extet ad memoriam poſteritatis ſempiternam, ad ſcelus crudeliſſimorum hoſtium, militumque divinam virtutem: utque, quæ præmia Senatus militibus ante conſtituit, ea ſolvantur eorum, qui hoc bello pro patria occiderunt, parentibus, liberis, conjugibus, fratribus: eaque fratribus tribuantur, quæ militibus ipſis tribui oporteret, ſi illi vixiſſent, qui morte vicerunt.

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Ἀσθένεια. 19. 6. tenuitas opum, paupertas.

Ἀπείω τι. 31. 7. operam do alicui rei.
Ἄσκησις. 5. 9. exercitatio.
Ἀσμένως. 26. 24. lubenter.
Ἀσπάζομαι. 56. 19. amicè excipio, amplector, amo.
Ἀστασίαστος. 51. 18. à seditione immunis.
Ἀστός. 1. 10. Civis, *nomen peculiare Athenienſibus, quorum Urbs dicebatur* Ἄστυ.
Ἀσφάλεια. 10. 15. ſecuritas.
Ἀτεχνῶς. 35. 8. planè, profectò. ἁπλῶς, καθάπαξ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ λόγῳ, ἀληθῶς. *Schol.* Ariſtoph. *Plut.* τεχνὴ Atticis eſt dolus; hinc ἀτεχνῶς, ἄνευ τῆς τεχνῆς ſine dolo, *ergo* verè, revera.
Ἀτιμάζω. 45. 3. contumelia afficio.
Αὖ. 13. 3. rurſum, viciſſim.
Αὐταρκέστατος. 3. 16. rebus omnibus inſtructiſſimus, ita ut ei abunde ſuppetant omnia. qui ſuis præſidiis munitus non eget ope alterius.
Αὐτάρκης. 7. 4. ſatis inſtructus.
Αὐτόματος. 57. 17. qui fortuito oritur, vel ſponte naturæ venit.
Ὁ Αὐτός. 54. 15. — 18. idem.
Αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. 14. 5. — 19. 1. ex tempore dicere.
Αὐτόχθων. 22. 12. eodem ſolo innatus quod quis incolit.
Τὸ Ἄφαντες τοῦ κατορθώσειν. 8. 15. incertus ſucceſſus.
Ἀφάνεια. 4. 9. (*ſenſu metaphorico ut et contrarium ei* λάμπρότης) obſcuritas.
Ἀφανής. 1. 9. non apparens, ab aſpectu remotus.
Ἀφανίζω. 40. 16. ab aſpectu removeo, tollo ex oculis. ἠφανίσθη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων evanuit ex conſpectu hominum.
Ἀφειδέω. 9. 20. — 44. 10. non parco vitæ *vel* corpori, exponens me facile cuivis periculo.
Ἀφθόνια. 37. 12. copia, abundantia.
Ἀφίκημαι πρός. 17. 10. adeo. 21. 24. pervenio.
Ἀφίστημι. 28. 34. diſcedo, deficio a fide datâ.
Ἀχάριτος. 33. 18. injucundus, immoriger.
Ἀχθηδών. 4. 13. dolor.

B.

Βάρβαροι. 15. 17. *generatim* omnes, qui diverſo ab aliis ſermone utuntur. In Aſiâ, ii qui erant in ditione Regis Perſarum; In Europâ, Thraces, Getæ, Pæones, Epirotæ.
Βασιλεύομαι. 42. 21. regor. 48. 14. dominatione opprimor.
Βασιλεύς. *paſſim*, Rex Perſarum. Cum enim Cyrus Aſſyriæ et Mediæ regna in Perſas tranſtuliſſet & Aſiam debellâſſet, vocatus eſt μέγας βασιλεύς, a quo poſtea Perſarum reges μεγάλους βασιλέας appellari ſe voluerunt.
Βιάζομαι. adigor.
Βίος. 55. 6. vita, victus.
Βλάβη. 6. 11. damnum, detrimentum.
Βοηθέω. *paſſim*. ſuppetias eo. 58. 25. venio ad auxiliandum, *ne ſc.* honores et majeſtas Deorum violentur.
Βοτόν. 23. 7. pecus, beſtia cicur.
Βουλευτήριον. 12. 2. curia.
Βούλησις. 3. 4. voluntas, votum.
Βραβεύς. * 4. certaminis arbiter, judex.

Γ.

Γῆ. ἐν τῇ γῇ. 5. 17.

Γηροτροφίω. 34. 12. alo aliquem in senectute et ei necessaria subministro.

Γινώσκω. 31. 22. existimo, statuo. 44. 3. decerno. sic Rom. 6. 6. hoc cogitantes eâque cogitatione excitati ad agendum pro dignitate &c. γνόντες ὅμοια. 42. 22. sentio. 48. 17. judicio.

Γνήσιος. 48. 23. germanus, ingenuus, originem habens legitimam, non fucatus.

Γνώμη. 1. 1. — 9. 16. — 21. 3. prudentia, mens, animus. 60. 20. certum animi judicium.

τῇ Γνώμη. 4. 19. consulto, de industriâ.

Γοητεύω. 13. 7. præstigiis et incantatione illicio, fallo.

Δ.

Δαιμόνιον. 58. 24. Deus supremus, divinitas mundi moderatrix.

Δαίμων. 57. 13. cujusque Genius præstes, conciliator fortunæ vel bonæ vel adversæ.

Δεῖμα. * 3. periculum.

Δεινός. *passim*, gravis. τὰ Δεινά. 60. 11. res formidolosæ.

τὸ Δεινὸν. 61. 5. periculum, malum imminentæ.

Δεινὸς λέγειν. 19. 16. peritus dicendi, qui arte dicendi valet.

Δεξιόομαι. 47. 12. dextram jungo, amplector.

Δέομαι. 50. 9. quæro.

Δεύτερεῖον. 22. 15. præmium quod datur iis qui secundum obtinent locum.

Δεύτερος. 20. 7. inferior.

Δέχομαι. 22. 4. sustineo impetum, resisto.

Δηλαδὴ. 12. 3. an forte, videlicet.

Δημοκρατία. 19. 1. imperium populare.

Δῆρις. * 1. pugna.

Διακίνγνεσθαι. perseverare, permanere.

Διαδοχῇ. 3. 9. per successionem, aliis succedentibus aliis.

Διατάσομαι. 5. 10. vitam ago, dego.

Διακινδυνεύω μάχην. 22. 13. periculum subeo in bello.

Διακρίνω. 24. 11. aperio quod res est; *vel* dirimo *sc. contentionem.*

Διαλύειν φόβον. 23. 3. discutio, finio.

Διανοέομαι. *sc.* ἔτω πρὸς τοῦτον ὡς ἐπιχειρήσων. 23. 15. eo sum animo erga illum ut cogitem invadere.

Διαπλάσομαι. 24. 1. *de bello*, exhaurior.

Διαπρέπομαι. 59. 8. impetro.

Διασώζω. 55. 9. conservo, tueor.

Διατελέω. persto in, persevero.

Διατριβὴ. 60. 9. mora.

Διαφέρειν. 19. 12. — 38. 17. antecellere, præstare.

Διαφέρω. 5. 3. discrepo. μεγάλα τὰ Διαφέροντ. 9. 23. magnopere intereste.

Διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν. 34. 17. egregiè præter cæteros.

Διαφθορὰ. 34. 11. internecio.

Διαφορὰ. 26. 17. dissidium. 39. 21. controversia.

Διάφορον. 4. 5. *sc.* πρᾶγμα. res controversa, *sive* dissidium, controversia.

Διδασκαλίαν ποιοῦμαι. 7. 21. doceo.

Δίδωμι ἴλεσχον. 50. 2. demonstro.

Δίειμι. 38. 6. Percurro oratione, narro.

Διεξέρχομαι. commemoro per partes singulas.
Διεργυνάομαι. 21. 13. pervestigo.
Διετήσιος. 4. 20. per totum annum durans.
Δίεσημι. 21. 16. discedo, extendo me.
Δίκαιος ἀμί. 30. 16. *idem quod* δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἐμὲ æquum est me.
Δικαιῶ. 15. 18. justum et æquum censeo.
Δίκην δοῦναι. 39. 6. pœnas dare. — ἴσχειν. 39. 14. pœnas subire.
Διχόθεν, 10. 15. bifariám.
Δοκέω. Ἐ ἀληθῆ εἶδεξι. 26. 16. et hæc vera videbantur, neque eos fefellit hæc opinio.
Δύναμαι σώματι. 51. 7. valeo, valido sum corpore.
οἱ Δυνάμενοι. 40. 24. potentiâ præditi, potentes.
Δυναστία. 42. 13. paucorum dominatio.
ὡς Δυνατόν. 60. 13. quàm maxime.
Δυστυχέω. 25. 19. adversum fortunam experior.
Δυστυχήματα. 55. 12. ea quæ infeliciter gesta sunt.
Δυσχωρία. 30. 1. difficultas locorum *orta sive ab asperitate sive ab angustia.*

E.

Ἐὰν μή. 34. 6. si non, etiamsi non.
Ἐγκαθίστημι. 52. 16. constituor.
Ἔγκλημα. 50. 9. querela, criminatio.
Ἐγκρατής. 19. 4. compos, qui in potestate habet.
Ἐγκωμιάζω. 23. 12. laudo, celebro.
Ἐθάς. 10. 12. assuetus.
Ἐθελοντής. 28. 19. miles voluntarius, qui sponte militat.
Ἐθίζω. 23. 7. assuefacio.
Εἰδέναι. 33. 15. persuasum me habeo.
Εἰδέναι χάριν. 23. 22. habere gratiam.
Εἶεν. 58. 24. credibile esset, optandum foret.
εἰκῆ ἀκῆ. 13. 4. non temere, non sine consilio.
Εἰκότων μᾶλλον. 56. 22. merito magis, justius.
Εἰλικρινῶς. 29. 11. purè, sincerè, *q. d.* τῇ ἄλλῃ κρισιφθυσι, *quoniam ad alias sinceros solis,* τὰ μεμιγμένα καὶ τὰ ἀμιγῆ *facile dignoscitur.*
Εἱμαρται. 20. 22. assignatum est fatali quâdam velut partitione, fato decretum est.
Εἶμι. 3. 22. eo, ibo.
Εἰμί. τὸν αὐτὸν ἔστιν. 10. 24. eum qui esse desiit, mortuum.
Εἰπεῖν. 37. 13. loqui diserte, eloqui. εἶπεν. 28. 8. *pro imperio* edixit, jussit.
Ἐκάστοτε. 13. 12. semper. ἀεὶ, πᾶς ἕκαστος. *Hesych.*
Ἐκγίνεται. 39. 2. licet, contingit, facultas datur.
Ἐκδέχομαι. 28. 20. expecto.
Ἐκλογίζομαι. 6. 14. subductis rationibus expendo, considero.
Ἐκπλήσσω. 4. 22. *metaph.* excutio.
ἐκπλήσσομαι, *passim.* percellor, consternor.
Ἐκφέρω. 15. 13. effero *i. e.* divulgo, enuntio.
Ἐκφορά. 1. 6. elatio funeris.
Ἔλαιον. 18. 9. oleum.
Ἐλαττόομαι. 54. 1. diminuor.
Ἐλεῶ. 55. 17. commiseror.
Ἐλευθερία. 19. 20. ingenuitas, libertas.
Ἐλπίζω. 47. 11. *de malis* timeo, suspicor.

Ἐμπαίνω

Εμβαίνω ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. 52. 14. navem conscendo.

Εμπείρως ἔχειν τινός. 59. 4. aliquem usu cognoscere.

τὸ μὴ Εμποδὼν. 11. 13. quod non contrarium est, quod non impedimento est.

Εμποιῶν τινί. 60. 16. in animum alicujus indere. 62. 8. incutere pudorem.

Εν τοῖς εὐδοκιμωτάτοις ἦσαν. 21. 12. erant celeberrimi.

Εναντίωμαι. 6. 18. contrario instituto utor.

Ενάντιος, ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολή. 9. 21. mutatio in contrarium, adversa commutatio, *sc. ex prosperâ fortunâ ad adversam.*

Ενδιδοὺς. 13. 21. tinniens, *id quo veluti post tibiarum cantum aures adhuc personant.*

Ενδεεστέρως. 20. 2. minus quàm par sit. similiter Thuc. L. I. *φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὑποδεέστερα — δηλούτω τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδεέστερα ὄντα τῆς φήμης—*

εἰς τὸ Ενδεχόμενον τῆς λύπης. 58. 11. in quantum *vel* quatenus luctus eorum admittit.

μὴ Ενδεῶς. 6. 7. non insufficienter *i. e.* admodùm peritè.

Ενδιατάσσομαι. 9. 17. inhabito.

Ενδίδωμι. 8. 18. cedo, non renitor.

Ενι. 6. 6. pro ἔνεστι licet.

Ενταφιον. ** 13. quicquid ad funus pertinet, *speciatim*, vestis, quâ mortuorum corpora honestè ad sepulturam involvebantur.

Εντήκω. 29. 15. infusus sum, penitùs infigor, *metaphora sumpta ab iis quibus plumbum liquefactum infusum est, et ita inhæret ut eximi nequeat: quod in lapidum juncturis videre est.*

Εντὸς τῆς ἡλικίας — 50. 20. infra ætatem militarem.

Εντυγχάνω 5. 16. occurro.

Εντυγχάνω. παρὰ τὸ ἐντυχόντι ἀλλ' — καιρῷ. 9. 13. quotiescunque occasio sese obtulerit. 34. 14. incido in aliquem. 35. 23. adeo, convenio.

Εξ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν. 37. 4. post *paucos dies. vid. not.*

Εξάγομαι. 53. 1. avocor, digredior.

Εξαιτέω. 28. 24. mihi dari peto, exposco ad pœnam, *sic* ἐξαίτημα. 40. 19.

Εξαμφοτερόω εἰς. 40. 1. injurius sum erga. —

ὁ Εξῆς. 22. 20. qui ordine proximus est, sequens.

Εξόν. 24. 23. — 45. 9. 60. 4. cum liceret. *Attici impersonalium participia absolutè ponunt.* H.

Εξυβρίζω. 40. 2. insolentius efferor, contumeliosus sum.

Επαγγέλλω. 37. 3. denuntio, edico. — κελεύω. *H.*

Επαινέω τάττε τῶν ἀνδρῶν. 30. 14. hoc illis laudi potissimum duco.

Επακούω. 3. 24. audio *tanquam a præceptore.*

Επανορθόω. 55. 11. emendo, restituo in integrum. Heb. 12. 12.

Επειμι.. 3. 18. invado hostiliter.

Επηλυς. 16. 24. extraneus, peregrinus.

Επιβουλεύω. 21. 7. insidiose aliquid apparo contra. —

Επιβουλεύω φθορᾷ τινος. 24. 1. insidiose molior exitium alicujus.

Επιγίγνομαι. 3. 9. succedo, postnascor.

Επικηρυκεύομαι. 26. 2. missis caduceatoribus sollicito. *ἀεὶ φιλίας καὶ διαλλαγῶν κήρυκας πέμπειν. Harpocr.*

Επίκουρος. 27. 23. auxiliator, *qui oppugnatis auxilio venit.*

Επιμέλεια. 58. 23. cura, *quæ habetur rerum humanarum a Deo.*
Επιμνήσομαι πέρι τινός. 20. 11. mentionem facio, commemoro.
Επίπεμψις. 5. 18. missio.
Επίπονος. 5. 9. laboriosus.
Επίσημος. 9. 11. illustris.
Επισκήπτω. 30. 17. — 34. 9. obtestor, mando; *usus hujus verbi est accommodatus extremis mandatis, hominumque morientium precibus, quippiam ab amicis et necessariis hæredibusque contendentium, quasique fidei ipsorum committentium.*
Επιτήδευμα. 31. 8. — 35. 1. studium, institutum, mores.
Επιτήδευσις. 3. 20. studium, institutum, industria, disciplina.
Επιτηδεύτης. 32. 5. studiosè sector.
Επίτροπος. 58. 19. tutor, *quibus committitur cura liberorum adhuc impuberum, sive id fiat rogatu parentum morientium, sive sponte suscipiatur.*
Επιτρέπω. 57. 16. permitto.
Επίφανής. 31. 12. conspicuus.
τὸ Επιχαρές. 61. 7. quod ad gratiam conciliandam aptum est.
Επιχαρίζομαι περὶ τινός. 6. 14. in manus aliquid sumo circa quod incumbam, aggredior. *cum infin.* 12. 6. studeo. ἐπὶ τινά. 23. 16. adorior, invado.
Επιὼν. 22. 18. invadens, irruens.
Επομαι. 3. 3. sequor, obsequor.
Εραυος. 9 9. collatio, contributio, quod quis pro virili parte confert.
Ερέω. majorem in modum cupio.
Ἔργον. 2. 14. opus, factum, res. *passim opponitur λόγῳ; includiturque alicubi ἔργῳ* veritatis *quædam significatio.* 1 Pet. 3. 1. Raphel. ib. 8. 19. belli conflictus. 27. 24. — 42. 18. munus, officium, partes. 42. 20. opera, ministerium. πολὺ ἂν ἔργον ἦν. 45. 8. difficile, operosum esset.
Ερημος. 46. 12. desertus.
Ερχομαι. ἐς πίραν ἔρχω. 7. 8.
Εσία πατρώα. 35. 3. domus paterna.
Εσχατως. 59. 5. maximè, summé.
Εὖ λέγειν τίνα. 14. 8. laudes alicujus peragere.
Εὖ πράττειν. 24. 3. prosperâ fortuâ uti.
Ευγένεια. 16. 23. generis claritas, nobilitas.
Ευδοκιμέω. 14. 9. probor.
Ευδοξία. 19. 2. dignitas, bona existimatio. 32. 4. *in plur.*
Ευθὺς *adv.* 5. 9. statim, extemplo.
Ευμβαῖς. 16. 9. — 32. 7. benevolè, amicè.
Ευμπαχάρισις. 62. 14. qui facile circumveniri potest.
Ευπορία. 14. 3. habeo copiam et facultatem.
Ευρίσκομαι. 41. 16. nanciscor, impetro. Rom. 4. 1. Heb. 9. 12.
Εὐρὺς ** 14. situs, mucor.
Ευτέλεια. 6. 24. parsimonia.
Ευτραπέλως. 7. 4. dextrè. εὐκινήτως, εὐδιξίως. *Sch.*
τὸ Εὐψυχον. 5. 8. animositas, magnanimitas.
Ἔχω. 21. 10. habeo, retineo. — τὴν ὀργῆς. 4. 12. iascor. — ἀχαριστίαν. 7. 8, 9. — κατάμεμψιν, *pro* πρόφασιν, præbeo causam indignationis vel querelæ. — 20. 15. cohibeo, reprimo. ἱκανῶς ἔχων. 12. 4. τὴν ἀξίαν *sc.* τιμήν 20. 8, 9. debitum honorem nanciscor. 21. 17. — 22. 17. possum. — ἔπαινον. 25. 20. — 22. 24. laudor. δόξαν. 26. 15. existimor, famâ ita inclarescо ut existimer. — τὴν γνώμην. 49. 9. habere sententiam.

πλε-

πλακόννεσθαι ἰχνέων. 41. 12. habito, incolo. — μνείαν. 27. 6. mentionem facio. — συγγνώμην. 27. 11. habere veniam *tam de eo* qui veniam dat, *quam* qui veniam impetrat — χάριν τινὸς τινί. 36. 2. gratiam habeo. — — δίκην. 39. 14. pœnas subire.

Σχόμβος φόβου. 22. 2. timor qui occuparat, qui adhæserat; *vel* qui sequebatur deinceps *seu* inde oriebatur.

Z.

Ζευγνύω. 45. 16. jungo, *sc.* ponte.

Ζηλόομαι. 44. 23. — 54. 10. laudor, ad imitandum proponor.

Ζῆλος. 52. 23. æmulatio.

Ζηλόω. 4. 1. æmulator. 55. 23. — 56. 6. — 58. 1. beatum prædico.

Ζηλωτὸς. 55. 7. beatus, cui merito quis invideat et æmuletur. 57. 19. expetendus.

H.

Ἡγέομαι. *passim.* præsum, impero. — ὡς ἐλάττονος. 55. 19. minoris æstimo.

Ἡδονὴ. κατ' ἡδονήν. 4. 12. pro libito.

Ἡλίθιος. stolidus.

Ἡλικία. 50. 13. Juventus, juvenum multitudo, *sc. qui per ætatem in armis esse possunt.* 50. 20. οἱ τ' ἡλικίας οὔπω μετέχοντες. impuberes. — καθεστηκυῖα. 3. 14. firma, firmata ætas, *vel* justa, plena ætas.

Ἤπειρος. *sc.* γῆ. 22. 11. terra continens.

Ἡττάομαι τινός. 46. 5. inferior evado.

Ἥττων. 57. 12. minor, qui succumbit.

Θ.

Θανατόω. 56. 13. Morti addico.

Θαυμάζω. 57. 8. suspicio, in admiratione habeo, magni habeo.

Θαυμάσιος. 12. 6. admirabilis, illustris. ὦ θαυμάσιε *ironice.*

Θεῖος. 45. 13. a Deo constitutus.

Θειότατον. 28. 5. maxime admirandum. Θεῖον, τὸ σὺν ῥᾳδίᾳ ἀφηγμόν, καὶ τὸ ἄξιον λόγου, ὥστε θαυμάζεσθαι. *Hesych.*

Θεοφιλὴς. 17. 11. Deo charus.

Θεραπεύω. *passim.* curo, famulor. — νόμῳ. 58. 4. obtempero, servo.

Θεραπὶς. 28. 11. cultrix, ad præstandum obsequium paratissima.

I.

Ἰδέα. 38. 18. forma. (*sc.* σώματος.) species.

Ἱερόν. 47. 17. templum.

Ἰσογονία. 19. 17. æqualitas generis.

Ἰσονομία. 19. 17. æquabilitas juris.

Ἰσοπαλεῖς κίνδυνοι. 5. 11. paria certaminum pericula.

Ἰσόῤῥοπος. 8. 2. æqualis, par.

Ἵστημι τρόπαιόν τινος *i. e.* ἐπὶ τινός. 53. 17. tropæum de aliquo statuo.

K.

Καθαιρέω. 27. 19. everto, diruo, 53. 21. *passive.*

Καθαρὸς. 29. 15. impermixtus.

Καθίζομαι. 40. 19. sedeo.

Καθίσταμαι. 58. 20. fio, fum.

Καθίστημι. 39. 9. reddo, efficio.

εἰς ἄδειαν. 41. 20. perduco ad securitatem. 42. 1. instituo. —πόῤῥω. 55. 22. amoveo. καταστῆσαι pro κατασταθῆναι ἐν χήμαπι. 34. 21. constituta in personâ, partes seu personam sumens. 24. 8. conjicio in bellum.

Καὶ γάρ τοι. 57. 21. etenim.

Κακία. 27. 9. — 52. 9. improbitas, vitiositas.

Κακοπραγέω. 9. 20. infelix sum, adversâ fortunâ utor.

Κάκωσις. 9. 24. offensio.

Κακῶ, 33. 18. affligo.

Καλλος. 31. 10. *dicitur de* quâvis pulcritudine, *de omni eo ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τις καλλύνηται pulcrior aut honestior evadat et sibi ipsi placeat. Speciatim* 21. 11. *pro* pulcritudine oris.

Κάμνω. 7. 22. laborem suscipio.

Καμόντες. * 7. mortui.

Καρτερέω. 10. 12. forti animo sum. 28. 12. obfirmo animum, persevero in proposito.

Κατάγομαι. 21. 19. deducor, descendo, *navis appulsâ.*

Καταδουλόομαι *passim.* subjugo.

Καθαιρέομαι. 58. 25. evertor, destruor.

βίον Κατασκευάζω. 18. 12. instruo *vitam omnibus facultatibus seu rebus ad vitam necessariis.*

Κατασκευάζομαι τὴν πολιτείαν. 18. 17. instituo rempublicam.

Κατασκευή. 4. 21. opificium ornamenti gratiâ instructum.

Κατασροφή. 8. 5. exitus, finis, *sc.* vitæ.

Κατατίθεμαι φυσικὰν ἔχθραν. 43. 18. apertas inimicitias suscipio.

Κατατρέχομαι. 31. 22. abutor, uti aliorsum quàm natura rei postulat, consumo.

Κατατεύδομαι τινες. 32. 21. mendaciter confingo, ementior de aliquo.

Καθεδράζομαι βέβαιον τὴν ἀλυσιτελείαν. 50. 1. opera mea stabilio.

Κατέρχομαι. 53. 5. descendo, migro. 53. 21. — 54. 8. redeo *ut exul.*

Κατερῶ. 36. 5, 6. eloquar, prodam.

Κατηγορῶ. 28. 9. reprehendo.

Κατορθόω. instauro, cum virtute ac laude aliquid facio.

εἰ Κάτω. 39. 14. Manes.

Κεῖμαι. 4. 16. proponor, constituor. sic 1 *Tim.* 1. 9.

Κέκρυφται. 52. 18.

Κηλέομαι. 13. 13. permulceor, delinior.

Κήρ. ** 7. *in pl.* fatum lethiferum, lethum.

Κινδυνεύομαι. 2. 17. in periculum adducor. 9. 22. periclitor.

Κίνδυνος. 46. 1. χρεμίνε κινδύνε, dimicatione facta. ποιεῖσθαι. 50. 21. suscipere periculum.

Κινδυνεύω. 5. 22. pericula adeo, suscipio. 12. 15. videor. 51. 11. — 53. 16. belli discrimen adeo, dimico.

Κλέος. ** 19. — 38. 20. fama, gloria.

Κοιμίζομαι. 58. 9. sopior, demulceor, extinguor.

Κοινόομαι τινί. 27. 17. communico cum aliquo rem agendam, communico cum aliquo nostrum consilium.

Κομίζομαι. 39. 14. consequor, obtineo.

Κόμπος. 6. 4. — 7. 5. vana grandiloquentia, ostentatio et jactatio verborum.

Κοσμέω. *passim.* orno, honesto.

Κόσμος. ** 19. decus.

Κρατέω. 19. 9. imperium obtineo, dominor. 46. 7. potior.

Κράτος. 19. 6. imperium.

Κράτιστος. 6. 15. præstantissimus.

Κρείσσων ἀκοῆς. 7. 7. præstantior famâ.
Κριθή. 18. 3. hordeum.
Κτάομαι. 3. 11, 17. — 6. 19. — 48. 23. — 49. 3. acquiro, comparo. 38. 23. — 40. 7. — 53. 5. comparo, acquiro, accerso mihi *etiam quæ mala sunt*. 53. 9. communem aliis secum procurantes civitatem. τὰς ψυχὰς ἀλυτελίας κεκτῆσθαι. 44. 6. *vid. not.*

Λ.

Λάθων ἔχω *i. e.* ἔλαθον. 20. 10.
Λαγχάνω. 57. 13. sortitò obtineo.
Λαμβάνω. ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε (*sc.* ἀρχὴν) occasione captâ. *forsan, formâ usitatiore*, l. καιρόν. Act. 24. 25. τὴν τε ἐναντίων πρωτείαν πορθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν 8. 12. reputo. Λαμβάνω δύναμιν. 30. 20. sumo vires. Λαμβάνομαι τινος. 52. 22. nanciscor.
Λανθάνω ὤν. 57. 3. ignoro me esse.
Λάρναξ. 1. 6. arca.
τόδε Λέγω. 25. 24. hoc est quod velim, loquor hoc.
Λειπόρβοι. 7. 19. — 11. 12. superstites.
Λήγω. 56. 9. desinere facio.
Λογίζομαι. statuo persuasione firmâ quæ quasi rationibus subductis et explicatis concluса sit.
Λογισμός. 6. 15. cogitatio, deliberatio. 6. 23. computatio. λογισμῷ ἐδόκεις. 43. 19. secum reputantes, secum ipsi pericula æstimantes.
τὰ Λοιπά. 51. 10. — 39. 3. futura. 52. 1. reliqua.
οἱ Λοιποί. 8. 23. cæteri, superstites.
τὸ Λυπηρόν. 4. 22. tristitia.

Μ.

Μάθημα. 5. 5. institutio, doctrina.
Μακαρίζω τινα (ὑπὲρ) τινος. 57. 25. beatum prædico, fortunatum judico. *Luc.* 1. 48.
Μαλακίζομαι. 8. 10. molleso, effæminor.
Μάχομαι. * 3. μαχάμβοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείμασιν pugnantes tam virtutis ingenitæ vi citati quàm periculi sensu quod reipublicæ imminebat.
Μαρτύρω. ** 17. — 17. 11. sensentiam testimonio comprobo. *Heb.* 10. 15.
Μελέτη. 5. 3. cura, exercitatio, institutum.
ἐκ Μέλλοι. 60. 23. notat non solùm simpliciter aliquid esse administrandum sed recte et cum successu.
ἐν Μέρει, 46. 20. per vices, alternis vicibus, *seu* discretim. κατὰ μέρους. 4. 7. aliquâ ex parte, *nimirum oppositè* toti communitati civium.
Μετὰ. 47. 21. plenus.
Μεταγινώσκω. 59. 10. sententiam muto.
Μεταδίδωμι. 54. 3. communico.
Μεταπέμπομαι. 50. 18. accerso.
Μετέρχομαι. 5. 10. persequor summo studio, consector.
Μέτα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον. 4. 4. omnes sunt participes æqui juris.
Μέτοχος. 49. 2. particeps fio.
Μετοικῶν. 17. 1. inquilinus, *nimirum qui patriâ pulsus aut aliàs migrans aliò se contulit.*
Μετρίως. 2. 18. modice, ita ut satis sit. συμμέτρως, ἐξίως. *Sch.*
Μέχρις οὗ sub. χρόνου. usque dum.

Μεμίγμαι. 7. 21. pluribus verbis differo.
Μεμφομαι. 17. 3. noverca.
Μιαίνω. 39. 15. polluo.
Μικρός. 50. 9. futilis.
Μίτος. ** 12. memoria, monumentum.
Μνήμη. 3. 8. mentio, commemoratio.
Μοῖρα. 57. 13. fatum. 35. 9. τὸ μοῖρα πατρὸς καθεστηκὸς. in loco patris constituta, partes vel personam patris sumens.
Μυστικὰ. 14. 20. scientia modulorum concinnorum. 20. 5. Poesis. 35. 7. studia quæ dicuntur liberalia, literæ humaniores, *præcipue* poesis. Μυστικὰ, πᾶσαι τέχναι οἱ Δᾶνοι. Hesych.

N.

Ναύαρχος. 47. 22. pars fractæ navis.
τὰ Ναυτικὰ. 5. 17 res nautica.
Νῆσοι sic emphaticè dicuntur *Cyclades* Insulæ Maris Ægei.
Νικᾶν ναυμαχίαν. — πόλεμον. 26. 13. vinco navali prælio—bello.
τὰ Ναυζιφόρα. 35. 5. — 39. 23. justa, ritus qui in more sunt positi.
Νομίζω. 4. 20. moribus instituo. 17. 19. lege sancio, colo. 19. 15. — 38. 15. existimo.
Νοσῶ. 26. 23. male valeo, morbis civilibus laboro, *qualis sunt intestinæ discordiæ et seditiones.*

Ξ.

Ξενηλασία. 5. 5. ejectio peregrinorum.
Ξυμφορῶν. 3. 24. utilis, commodus.
Ξυναιρῶ. 7. 1. contraho in unum, complector paucis.
Ξυνδύρομαι. 32. 11. deploro *tanquam socius doloris.*
Ξυνοικῶν. 31. 12. conjungor, adhæreo.

O.

Οἰκεῖος 6. 6. privatus. 4. 24. — 21. 5. propinquus, amicus. 22. 15. proprius, suus. 26. 21. intestinus.
Οἰκῶν. 14. 1. mansionem habeo, vivo, dego, *passim.* 18. 16. rem meam administro. 4. 4. 19. 14. gero rempublicam.
Οἰκήτης. ** 16. habitator, incola.
Οἶκτος. 48. 4. ejulatus, commiseratio.
Οἰκτρὸς. 55. 6. miserandus.
Οἷα δὲ τὰ πολλά. 13. 14. sicut plerumque. Οἷος μέγας. 47. 1. quàm magnus. Οἷόν τε ἦν. 57. 9. fieri posset. ὡς οἷόν τε. 22. 22. quod possibile esset. Οἷός τ' εἰμὶ. *passim*, possum.
Οἶτος. ** 12. interitus.
Οἰωνῶν χάριν. 35. 2. auspicii gratiâ.
Ὀκνῶ. 61. 5. metus adeundi laboris.
Ὀλοφύρομαι. 1. 11. ejulo. 58. 5. comploratu prosequor. πλεον. 10. 4. — 47. 13. — 55. 16. commiseror, vicem alicujus miseror. 53. 1. — 57. 2. lamentor.
ὁμῶς δ' Οὐδὲν. 10. 17. ex æquo.
Ὁμολογουμένως. 28. 19. manifestè, omnium consensu, sine controversiâ. 1 *Tim.* 3. 16.
Ὁμοιῶν. 48. 23. consentaneus.
Ὀχλίζομαι. 53. 11. succenseo.
Ὀφείλω ἔχειν. 58. 10. statuere potest quousque *sis* quamdiu aliquis doleat.
Ὀφθαλμὸς. 34. 21. Orbitas.
Ὄψις. 27. 22. v. sit.

Πλῆθος.

Π.

Πάθος. 58. 8. casus, perturbatio animi, vel ægritudo ex adversâ fortunâ oriunda.

Παιάν. 47. 19. *genus cantilenæ quod canebatur aut in belli congressu, aut in aversione malorum, sive morbi, sive belli.*

Παιδεία. 5. 9. institutio, instituendi ratio. disciplina i. e. morum gubernatio, quæ fit per assuefactionem, quotidiana exercitia, tempestivas castigationes et per exempla. *Ephes.* 6. 4.

Παίδευσις. 7. 2. disciplina.

Παίζω. 15. 17. ludo pueriliter et puerorum more.

Πανδημεί. 50. 16. cum universâ multitudine, *sc. militum.*

Πανουργία. 31. 15. calliditas. a πανοῦργος, qui nullâ non in re fit versatus, cujusmodi qui est, quoniam astutus et vafer esse solet, hinc fit ut pro fallaci et fraudulento accipiatur.

Παντάχῃ. 38. 3. ubique gentium.

Παντελής. 27. 13. universalis.

Παντοδαπός. 17. 16. omnigenus, omnis generis. 19. 11. qui est ex omni solo, omnifarius.

Παρ' ἐλπίδα. 27. 1. præter expectationem et spem.

Παροξύνομαι παιδιᾶς. 10. 17. objicio *sc. periculis.*

Παρομοίως. 17. 9. — 58. 11. hortor. τὰ πρός. 49. 17. admoneo.

Παρορμιλεύομαι. 16. 10. adhortor.

Παρορμιλυσμός. 47. 19. adhortatio.

Παρυλαμβάνω. 38. 21. assumo in societatem. *Act.* 15. 39.

Παραμυθέομαι. 16. 12. consolor.

Παρασκευάζομαι. 31. 21. me accingo, me comparo, do operam.

ἐν τῷ Παραχρῆμα. 8. 11, 14. in ipsius rei actione, in præsenti, impræsentiarum. ἐκ τοῦ Παραχρῆμα. 15. 6. extempore.

Παρέχομαι. 53. 19. exhibeo. *sic* παρέχω. 32. 23.

Παρηβέω. 10. 18. consenesco, e flore ætatis egressus in senectutem vergo.

Πάροδος. 46. 7. transitus, transeundi copia.

Πάσχομαι ἀγαθόν. 41. 5. Πάσχω εὖ. 6. 19. — 27. 16. commodo afficior, accipio beneficium. κακῶς. 27. 15. malo mulctor. πάσχω. 13. 17. eadem in me experior.

Πατρίς. 17. 2. patria.

Πεῖρα. 9. 8. conatus.

Πενία. 4. 8. inopia. *minus quam πλοκία, et sæpe sensu honesto.*

Περαίνω. 30. 9. perduco ad finem, perficio.

Περιαιρέομαι. 27. 18. aufero, diripio.

Περιδάλλω. 49. 10. circumdo.

Περιγίγνομαι. 5. 22. contingit, obvenit, *q. d.* illud bonum consequimur.

Περίστημι. 46. 10. circumsto. 52. 23. oborior. 28. 6. ἄχρι ἀπεστήναι αὐτοῦ *sc.* τοῦ πράγματος, ut ita res illi in contrarium cederent, et circumactæ essent, ut eo redactus esset ut —

Περίλειμμα. 15. 8. reliquiæ.

Περιορόμαι. 9. 19. negligo, negligenter fero.

τὸ Πιστόν. 6. 24. fiducia.

Πλανάομαι. 33. 5. erro, in errorem impellor, *a veritatis nimirum tramite deturbatus, et velut locorum ignarus modo hùc modo illuc appulsus.*

Πλειονάζεσθαι. 2. 21. amplificari. *sc.* supra verum.

Πλῆθος. *passim.* populus, respublica.
Πόθῳ. 55. 16. desiderio afficior.
Ποιεῖν. 37. 12. facere carmina, Poetice scribere.
Ποιεῖσθαι τὴν προστασίαν. 37. 8. *idem quod* προστάτευσαι, præficere aliquem, imperium vel officium vel munus aliquod ei mandans vel delegans. τίκτωσιν. 10. 13. liberos procreo. τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου. 54. 14. κίνδυνον. 43. 11. infero periculum. κίνδυνον. 45. 14. suscipio, *vel potius* exhaurio periculum. ὠφελὶ πολλῶ. 54. 22. — 56. 18. — 56. 23. magni facio, æstimo.
Ποικίλλω. 13. 7. variego, vafre vario.
Πολεμῶν. 54. 9. concerto, belli discrimen adeo et sustineo — πολεμῳ. 24. 4.
Πολίς. 59. 7. incolæ civitatis.
Πολιτεύω. 11. 14. rempublicam rego. *pro* πολιτεύομαι, *secundum aliquos*, in republica versor ejus legibus ac institutis vivens.
Πολλαχόθι. 23. 22. ad multa loca.
Πολλαχοῦ. 13. 15. multifariam, multimodum.
Πολὺς. 24. 19. vehemens. 45. 8. πολὺ ἔργον difficile.
Πολύτροπος. 10. 4. varius, multimodus, multiplex.
Πονηρὸς. 57. 7. malus, instrenuus.
Προβάλλομαι. 4. 20. excogito, comminiscor. *sive eâdem signif. ac* κατασκευάζω, paro, apparo.
Πρόφασις. 10. μᾶλλον δ' οὐτι φυγεῖν ἔσεσθαι, neutiquam vero ratio excogitata mortem fugiendi cuivis suppetit.
Πρᾶττω. 28. 1. molior, studiosè in aliquo perficiendo incumbo.
Προάστειον. 1. 12. suburbium.
Πρόειμι. 2. 3. anteeo, præsto.
Προθυμέομαι. 34. 20. cupio efficere. 12. 9. promptus sum, studeo, in animum induco.
Προθύμως. 3. 18. strenue, alacriter.
Προκάμνω. 5. 23. ante fatigor, ante debilitor.
Προκείμενος. 41. 7. propositus. *Heb.* 12. 1. 2.
Προμηθοῦμαι. 20. 11. hortor, suadeo.
Προνοέομαι. 37. 7. provideo, consulo commodis alicujus.
Προπέμπω. 16. 3. deduco, comitor, prosequor.
Πρὸς. 2. 20. præ.
Προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει. 8. 22. ut conveniebat civitati.
Προσήκω. 9. 16. pertineo; μὴ προσήκων alienus. Προσήκων. 1. 11. — τινὸς *vel* τινί. 55. 16. — 56. 24. propinquus, affinis. τὰ προσήκοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. 16. 1. debitus, consentaneus. ἃ προσήκει μοῖρα. 32. 6. Sors divinitus tributa et ad quemlibet pertinens.
οἱ Προσθεν ἡμῶν. 24. 20. majores.
Προσομιλεῖν τὰ ἰδία. 4. 14. *i. e.* ὁμιλεῖν πρὸς τὰ ἴδια. in rebus privatis versor, privatas res agito.
Προσπαίζω τινὰ, 14. 2. illudo.
Προσπίπτω. 52. 5. *v. not.*
Προσίθημι. 2. 12. addo, adjicio.
Πρόσφιλὴς. 35. 13. amans. Προσφιλέστερον. 34. 2. gratiùs.
Πρόσφορος. 11. 9. aptus, conveniens.
Πρόσχρον *elliptice.* 40. 3.
Προτίθεμαι. 1. 4. — 8. 7. in publico expono. ante oculos propono.
Πρότριτα. 1. 4. triduo ante.
Προφασίζομαι. 21. 7. prætexo, causæ loco affero.

Πυνθάνομαι. 46. 8. reſciſco, certior fio.
Πυρός. 18. 3. triticum.

P.

Ραθυμία. 5. 20. deſidia, ſegnities.
Ῥῆμα. **. *relatione habitâ ad ῥῆτρα, Laconica Mandata, ita dicta* Lex.
Ῥητορική. 14. 23.

Σ.

Σαόω * 3. parco ſervandi cauſâ.
Σεμνότης 13. 20. majeſtas.
Σεμνότερος. 13. 16. grandior, excelſior, cum quodam faſtu.
Σηκός. ** 16. delubrum, fanum heroibus ſacrum.
Σκέπτομαι. 15. 7. expendo, meditor.
Σπασπάζω. 43. 10. diſſideo. 53. 4. contendo, certo. 26. 25. — 8. 22. — 54. 6. factionibus contendo, ſeditioſe diſſideo.
Στρώννυμι. 1. 8. lectum ſuis operculis ſuperſtratis, ſeu ſtragulis tegere.
Συγγνώς. 60. 18. triſtis, tetricus.
τὸ Συγγνόν. 61. 2. acerba illa vultûs ſeveritas.
Συγγίνομαι τινί. 61. 23. conſuetudine alicujus (ſc. diuturniore) utor.
Συγγινώσκω. 27. 14. agnoſco.
Συγκροτέω. 15. 9. compono, concinno.
Συμβάλλομαι. 48. 17. confero.
Συμβάλλω. 24. 9. committo pugnam, prælior.
Συμμίγνυμι. 27. 1. coaleſco in unum, conjungo me.
Συναθροίζω. 46. 22. congrego.
Συνθήκη. 53. 13. pactum, conventum.
Σφάλλομαι. 9. 8. fruſtror conamine, *quum nimirum non proſperè ſuccedit quod tentavimus.*
Σχῆμα. 34. 21. habitus. *ὁ σχήματι καθεστῶσα* partes ſeu perſonam ſumens.
Σώζω. *paſſim.* ſervo, juvo quo minus quis pereat aut vincatur.

T.

Τάξις. 49. 18. locus in acie.
Ταυτὰ ταῦτα. 10. 17.
Ταφαί. 12. 11. exequiæ. *non ipſe actus ſepeliendi ſed,* celebritas exequialis; *ſicut γάμοι Matt. 22. 2. non ipſum matrimonium, ſed celebritas nuptialis, maximè, convivium.*
Τάφος. 1. 15. ſepulchrum.
Ταχ' ἂν. 2. 20. — 20. 7. forſan, fortaſſis. ἀφὼ ταχέων. 44. 16. brevi, celeriter.
Τεκμαίρομαι. 30. 20. conjicio, conjecturâ aſſequor, conjecturam facio.
Τελευτᾶν τὸν βίον. 55. 13. — 57. 16. finio vitam. τελευτᾶν. *abſolutè.* 59. 2.
Τέλος ἀνδρῶν. 34. 23. *idem quod τάγμα* ordo, claſſis, agmen. *vox autem τέλειος fine adjectione pertinet ad virilis ætatis ſignificationem.*
Τέλος. 12. 4. dignitas, princeps locus. magiſtratus.
Τέμνω. τεμόντες τὴν χώραν. 24. 20. vaſto et populor regionem ſegetibus arboribuſque ſuccifis.
Τέως. 13. 24. tamdiu.
Τηλικοῦτος ὢν *de ætate minore.* 12. 24. quum ejus fis adhuc ætatis, adeo junior.
Τίθεμαι τὸν πόλεμον. 27. 3. — 29. 29. depono bellum, bello abſiſto,

fisto. ὅπλα ἐς δῆριν. * 1. armis concerto.

Τιμωρέομαι. 39. 18. persequor. ulciscor.

Τί. 31.23. *pro μέγα τι* aliquid non vulgare neque contemnendum. τὶ ἔπαγε εἰσιόντα. v. *Galat.* 6. 3.

Τολμάω. 22. 13. — 43. 17. audeo. 54. 23. sustineo, tolero, 29. 8. — 50. 18. sustineo, audeo. 28.17. audeo, committo ut. 26. 2. *in malam partem,* audeo facinus.

Τλῆναι. ** 8. in animum induco, sustineo.

Τοιγάρτοι. itaque.

Τοτὲ μὲν — τοτὲ δὲ. 19.4. — 47.23. nunc quidem — nunc vero.

Τρέπομαι. 53. 24. me converto, memet operâ et consiliis applico ad — 49. 20. in fugam verto, fundo et fugo.

Τροπαῖα. 29. 12. signa barbarorum in fugam versorum.

Τρόπος. 60. 13. ingenium, indoles.

Τροφῖον. 55.14. educationis præmium, *quod pro nutritione et educatione alumnus suo nutritio rependit.*

Τυγχάνω ὤν. 22. 3. sum. Τυγχάνω τινος. *passim.* assequor, obtineo. 39.20. impetro. 38.23. in rem insperatam incurrere. 26.11. *de eo* qui in rem malam eamque insperatam incurrit.

Τύχη. 8. 20. fortuna bellica. 40. 8. eventus prosper. *passim,* casus, infortunium.

Υ.

Ὑβρίζων. 41. 8. injurius, contumeliosus. qui, nullâ aliorum habitâ ratione, quidvis sibi in quemvis licere putat. *Rom.* 1. 30.

Ὑγιής. 29. 10. incorruptus, sincerus.

Ὑμνέω. 57. 20. celebro.

Ὑπάρχω. nascor sum. 42. 7. obtingo, *i. e.* fortuna mea tulit. 22. 8. initium rei do, autor sum.

Ὑπαπόθημαι. 46. 21. subductum periculo exporto *sc. nave exportatum in loco tuto expono.*

τὸ Ὑπερβάλλον (*sc.* μέρος) 3. 1. quod superat (*sc.* audientium captum.)

καθ' Ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς. 11. 1. per incomparabilem exuperantiam. virtutis. 2 *Cor.* 4. 7.

Ὑπερφανία. 22. 5. superbia.

Ὑπεροράω. 57. 8. despicio, aspicio ultra ita ut negligam —

Ὑπηρετέω. *proprie* subremigo. 25. 18. subministro, suppetias fero. *Act.* 24. 23. 42. 20. subservio, operam navo.

Ὑποβάλλομαι. 17. 23. suppono, mihi quasi subdititium assumo.

Ὑπόνοιος. qui quasi in manibus est. instans. ἐξ ὑπογοίης. 14. 3. subito.

Ὑπόδειγμα. 17. 6. concipio.

Ὑπολαμβάνω. 58. 24. existimo, animo præsumo, expecto.

Ὑπόμνημα. 10. 9. monumentum, *quod rei alicujus recordari facit.*

Ὑφίσταμαι. 45. 17. sustineo, obnitor.

Φ.

Φείδομαι. 24. 23. parco, do veniam, abstineo a cæde.

Φέρειν ἐ ἄγειν. 59. 19. vid. Ἄγειν.

Φέρω βαρέως ἐπὶ συμφοραις. 57. 5. graviter, molestè fero.

Φεύγω. 24. 13. exulo.

Φθονέω σοι τινός. 18. 8. invideo, *seu,* denego propter invidiam qua te prosequor, parcâ manu distribuo.

distribuo. 54. 20. invido animo conor eripere.
ὁ Φιλεῖ πξοσπίπλειν. 24. 5. affolet.
Φιλοκαλέω. 6. 2. elegantiæ ſtudeo.
Φιλονεικία. 21. 1. pervicacia.
Φιλόνεικος. 42. 1. contentionis plenus, qui magno et velut pertinaci ſtudio contendit rem aliquam efficere.
Φιλότης. 47. 6. amor, neceſſitudo.
Φρονέω. 50. 9. μέγα. 56. 15. ſum animo elato, memet effero, inſolesco. πσῦτον ἐφρόνει. 41. 14. tantam de ſe opinionem concipiebant, tantos ſpiritus gerebant.
Φρόνημα. 20. 21. prudentia, magnanimitas. 9. 14. animi elatio, cogitatio, quæ ab elato animo proficiſcitur.
ὁ Φυγάς. 59. 14. exul, in exilium pulſus.
Φυλάπω. 46. 4. tueor, conſervo.
Φύσις. 50. 22. — 57. 6. natura. 22. 1. — 19. 17. — 29. 15. origo, ortus. 11. 6. — 38. 16, 24. ſexus. 53. 7. — 58. 9. indoles, ingenium. 2. 22. ingenii captus. 57. 12. natura noſtra, *ſeu* ſubſtantia noſtra.
Φύω, φύσῃ πεφυκότα. 43. 13. quæ naturâ ſunt conſtituta.
Φύω καλῶς. 42. 22. bene naſcor.

X.

Χαλεπός. 60. 1. moribus aſper, ſævus.
τὸ Χαλεπόν. 61. 3. illa morum duritiem.
Χωρίς. μετὰ χαρίτων. 7. 3. cum elegantia, decoré. Χάριν ἀδύναμ τῆς σωτηρίας. 44. 1. gratiam habere. 6. 20. ὁ δράσας τὸν χάριν. qui beneficium contulit.
Χωρίομαι. 21. 13. — 25. 10. ſubigo, ſubjugo.
Χείρων. 11. 6. deterior, pejor.
Χρώμαι — ῥησπυρῷ. 32. 2. utendo abſumo. νόμῳ. 1. 1. ſervo.
Χωρέω ἐπὶ — 5. 11. tendo, obviam eo.

Ψ.

Ψεύδομαι τῆς ἐλπίδος. 45. 2. fruſtror ſpe. τῇ πλήθυς ψευδόμενος. 46. 3. fallor. falſa opinione concepta de multitudine.
Ψιλὸς λόγος. 20. 7. nudus ſermo.
Ψυχή. 50. 18. — 51. 8. vivida vis animi. 53. 8. anima, vita.

Ω.

Ως. 26. 24. — 27. 2. quam maxime. 52. 20. *admirationis interjectio* quam! 59. 2. *Atticè pro* ωὸς. ad.

FINIS.

OBSERVATIONS

AND

NOTES

Upon the foregoing ORATIONS &c.

NOTES

Upon the foregoing EPIGRAMS.

THE Epigrams are intended for a ſpecimen of Greek Inſcriptions in honour of military men. The *firſt* was inſcribed upon the Tomb of thoſe *Athenians* who were ſlain in the battle of *Chæronea*. (See *Demoſth.* περὶ Στεφ.)

3. Μαραθῶνος —— δείματος] ſc. ἕνεκα. Διὰ τὸ, τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἀξιοφυλάξαι, δέημα δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμποιῆσαι. *Or,* μετ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος, *by an exertion of bravery attended with danger,* as, M. Æmilio potior viſa eſt periculoſa libertas quieto ſervitio *Salluſt.*

10 Μοῖραν δ' οὔτι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.] *There was a fatality in this diſaſter which no bravery or prudence could prevent.*

Mr *Markland* gives a conjectural emendation, thus,

Μηδεὶ ἁμαρτεῖν ἐσθλὸν, ἢ πάντα κρατεῖν·
Ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὔτι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν. (ſc. οἱ Θεοί.)

The *ſecond* and *third* Epigrams were inſcribed on Monuments erected, by order of the *Amphictyones* or great Council of *Greece*, to thoſe *Lacedæmonians* who fell at *Thermopylæ*. They are preſerved (as is the *fourth*,) by *Herodotus* B. 7. In the *third* ſome copies read Ω ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν — or Ω ξεῖν' ἀπαγγέλλειν — putting the Infinitive abſolute for the Imperative (or rather φημὶ being underſtood.) *Diodorus Siculus* hath ἀξιοῦσιν for πειθομένοις. He hath alſo πειθόμενοι νομίμοις for ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι. And ſo the paſſage was read by *Cicero* as appears from his Verſion. *Tuſc. Diſp.* B. 1.

Dic, Hoſpes, Spartæ, nos te hic vidiſſe jacentes,
Dum ſanctis patriæ legibus obſequimur.

But there ſeems a peculiar propriety in ῥήμασι as the *Spartan* edicts were termed Ῥήτρα. The *fourth* and *fifth* were written by *Simonides*. *Diodorus Sic.* hath preſerved the *fifth*, in B. 11. where he exſpatiates largely upon the celebrated Action which gave occaſion to it. See Notes on *Lyſias* p. 45. l. 22. and p. 10. l. 3. The Metrical diſpoſition of the Greek is made according to *Fulvius Urſinus*. It may not be improper to ſubjoin a Latin verſion of it.

His, qui ad Thermopylas cadebant,
Sors celebris contigit, pulcrumque
Fatum; Ara eſt tumulus
Proavos recordans; exitium vero
Laus. Funereum ſed hunc amictum
Nec ſitus, nec omnia edens
Vorabit tempus, virorum fortium.
Hæc vero ædicula incolarum laudem
Græciæ cepit. Teſtis horum Leonidas
Spartæ Rex, virtutis magnam
Famam relinquens perpetuumque decus.

NOTES

UPON

THUCYDIDES.

B. II. §. 34.

THE Character given of *Thucydides* by *Cicero de Orat.* B. 2. §. 56. is this,

"*Thucydides omnes dicendi artificio, mea ſententia, facile vicit:*
"*qui ita creber eſt rerum frequentia, ut verborum prope numerum*
"*ſententiarum numero conſequatur; ita porro verbis aptus & preſſus,*
"*ut neſcias, utrum res oratione, an verba ſententiis illuſtrentur.*

Tho' one cannot think of ſhewing the truth of this character of *Thucydides* from ſo ſmall a ſpecimen of his Hiſtory as is here reprinted, yet it may be proper to apply the obſervations therein contain'd, if for no other reaſon than to apologize for ſome of the following notes.

I. The Reader muſt not miſtake the *dicendi artificium*, which *Cicero* ſo juſtly admires in *Thucydides*, for Grammatical accuracy: for there is ſcarce any antient writer, who has more deviations from what we ſhould apprehend to be regular Syntax, ſuch as the many Elliptical, others Pleonaſtick expreſſions; Tranſitions from one number to another; Subſtitutions of one tenſe for another; Actives for Paſſives, and Paſſives for Actives; all which, tho' they are more or leſs to be met with in every *Attick* writer, certainly are anomalies, and (however called *Atticiſms)* are not the *Atticiſms* * which we ought to admire and imitate; tho' I confeſs that this ſet of Authors ſhew ſo much of their *artificium dicendi*, that any attempt to correct thoſe irregularities by preſenting a ſentence in its true Grammatical order, would be apt to injure the beauty of the compoſition, and lower its ſpirit. —— My intention therefore in marking out theſe deviations is not to inſinuate that *Thucydides* ought to have written otherwiſe, but to ſerve the purpoſe of mere explanation.

* See *Cicero*, de opt. gen. Orat.

II. If

II. If it be true, that this Author *verborum prope numerum ſententiarum numero conſequitur*, it will ſhew that in rendring his meaning into any other Language, there is almoſt a neceſſity to uſe many more words than what occur in the original.

III. If his *verba ſententiis illuſtrentur*, it will apprize the Reader not to think of hurrying on thro' an Author that is ſo very much crowded with ſentiment: He muſt exerciſe a good deal of thought about the ſubject-matter of which he is reading, in order to come at the full meaning of the expreſſions: which ſtill adds to the difficulty of tranſlating *Thucydides*, and ſhews why tranſlations of him are apt to fall ſhort of the ſenſe, as well as ſpirit, of the original. This is particularly the caſe of ſome ambiguous expreſſions; but this very ambiguity adds luſtre to the compoſition, inaſmuch as each of the ſenſes, which the words are capable of bearing are manifeſtly to the purpoſe, and conſequently might have been intended by the Writer.

I 1 Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι] *In the very ſame winter*, viz. that which followed the firſt campaign of the *Peloponneſian* war.

2 δημοσίᾳ] viz. γνώμῃ, *in purſuance of a reſolution taken by the Publick.*

4 τὰ μὲν ὀστᾶ] *viz.* the bones and aſhes which remained after burning the bodies; which was the general cuſtom of the *Athenians (Archæol.* v. 2. p. 207.) and appears from *Thucyd.* B. II. to have obtained at this time; and indeed otherwiſe it is inconceivable how this ſolemnity could have been performed. The cuſtom of burning the bodies of thoſe who died in war, and of bringing home their bones is mention'd Hom. Il. η. v. 333.

——— ἀτὰρ κατακήομεν αὐτὼς
Τυμβὸν ἀλαπαδὸ νεῶν, ὅσκ' ὀστέα πυκνὰ ἵκηται
Οἴκαδ' ἄγῃ, ὅτε κεν αὖτι νώμεθα πάτριδα γαῖαν.

ib. ἐκφέρονται] When perſons died among their friends, who were ready at hand to perform their laſt offices, this order was inverted; the corpſe was firſt waſh'd, anointed and properly bedeck'd, and laſt of all *laid out* and *expoſed to publick view. Archæol.* v. 2. p. 184.

ib. ἐκφορὰ· ἐκ τελίτης τῆς ἡμέρας ἡ ἐκκομιδή· ἢ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας. Sch.

5 ἐπιφέρει] There was ſcarce any thing wherein the Antients in moſt nations, and particularly among the *Grecians*, were more ſollicitous than to give ample teſtimony of their reſpect to deceaſed perſons by funeral ſolemnities; and, previouſly thereunto, by the uſe of ſuch Ceremonies, as anointing the corpſe, adorning it with ſplendid cloaths, chaplets of flowers, ribbands, &c. and afterwards, when the corpſe had been burnt, by waſhing the bones with wine. (*Archæol.* v. 2.

p. 178

1 &c. and p. 218 &c,) thus (*Thuc.* B. 3) the *Plataeans* speaking of the honours by them annually paid to those who fell in the *Median* war, specify the particulars thus, ὡς ἀποθανόντας κατὰ Μηδῶν κ᾽ παφείλοις ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐπιμῶμεν κατ᾽ ἔτος ἕκαστον δημοσίᾳ ἐσθήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις· ὅσα τε γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδε ὡραῖα, ταῦτα ἐπαρχὰς φέροντες ——

τῷ αὐτῷ, viz. *πατρὶ*, or *φίλῳ* or *ἡῷ*.

6 ἐκφορᾷ] This word and ἐκκομιδῇ are words appropriated to funerals, to denote the carrying the corpse forth. (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 189.)

ib. κυπαρισσίνας] *made of Cypress*; this being a wood of all others supposed least liable to decay.

7 φυλῆς.] The number of Tribes at *Athens* at first was 4, at this time, 10. Afterwards under the *Macedonian* Government, 12. (*Archæol.* v. 1. p. 49 &c.)

ib. ἔνεστι δὲ καὶ] Καὶ is redundant; inasmuch as there does not appear to have been any thing in the Coffers besides the bones.

8 ἐστρωμμένη] *with a carpet thrown over it.*

9 ἐς ἀναίρεσιν] *to have their bodies taken up*, and brought home.

11 αἱ παρσήκουσαι] *Solon* wholly excluded all women under 60 years of age from bearing part in funeral solemnities; tho' Relations under that age seem to have been admitted. (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 192.) Perhaps those women may be meant, whose profession it was to make publick lamentations at funerals, and on other sorrowful occasions, and who might be hired for that purpose. Such as were the *Præficæ* among the Romans. —— Allusions to this Custom occurr likewise frequently in H. Scripture. *Jer.* 10. 17, 18. (& *Lowth* ad loc.) — 22. 18. — 48. 17. — *Ezek.* 28. 31. — *Amos* 5. 16. — 2 *Sam.* 1. 24. — 2 *Chron.* 35. 25. — *Eccles.* 12. 5. — *Matt.* 9. 23. comp. with *Mar.* 5. 28.

ib. ὀλοφυρομένας.] The ὀλοφυρμοὶ were properly songs sung at funeral processions, (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 205) so called from the ejulations wherewith they were performed; and from thence the word may be used to comprehend the other most ordinary ways of expressing sorrow at funerals; of which see *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 195 &c.

12 ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα] Among the primitive *Grecians*, every family was wont to have their proper burying place: Their graves were nothing but caverns dug in the earth; but those of later ages were more curiously wrought: they were commonly paved with stone, had arches built over them, and were adorned with no less art and care than the houses of the living. (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 219.) The δημόσιον σῆμα here mention'd does not seem to denote any particular monument that was called by that name, any further than as the

1 the *Ceramicus*, a public suburb, was made use of for the purpose of burying such as had distinguished themselves in the service of their country; and in which place were several δημόσια σήματα or monuments erected by the Publick to the honour of great men, as may be seen in *Meursius*'s piece intituted *Ceramicus*.

ib. ἀκροπόλει.] That part of *Athens*, which was called the ἄστυ, was really no other than the Citadel, at first call'd *Cecropia*, from its builder *Cecrops*, seated upon the top of a high rock about three furlongs in length and one half in breadth, in the midst of a large and pleasant plain. See Dr *Pococke* Descr. of the East. V. 2. p. 160. Afterwards when the number of inhabitants was increased, the whole Plain was filled with buildings, which were called from their situation ἡ κάτω πόλις· so that the word ἀκροπόλεως by no means carries so low an import as the word *suburb* commonly does in *English*.

13 θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων] The word θαπτόμενους is to be supplied from the word θάψαι; and so in the next line τοὺς ἐκ Μαραθῶνι —— The expression is compleat p. 2. l. 13.

15 κρίνασιν] *viz.* the persons who lived at *that* time. Members of a civil society considered in their collective capacity are spoken of as always the same; tho' the Individuals are different.

Ib. αὐτῆ γῆ τὸ σῶμα &c. so *Tellus* in consideration of his eminent courage, was buried in *Eleusis* upon the field of Battle where he fell. Καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίη τε ἔθαψαν αὐτῆ τῆπερ ἔπεσε, καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως. Herodot. L. 1. c. 30.

2 1 ἐπιμέλειαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως] The solemnity of a publick funeral was managed by a Committee of the Parents and Brethren and other Relations of the deceased, chosen by the publick assembly of the people for that purpose: and they regulated the Ceremonies, especially the entertainment afterwards. *Plato* places the election in the hands of the Senate of 500. p. 14. l. 13. They perhaps nominated, and the Commonalty approved. See *Demosth. de Coron.* §. 86. where he says, ὁ Δῆμος ὃ σε ἐχειροτόνησε στεφανῶσαι (very likely ἐκ τῆς Βουλῆς,) which perhaps may reconcile *Thucydides* with *Plato*.

2 γνώμη μὴ ἀξύνετος] In English, *no fool*, i. e. *a man of very good sense*. Instances of this kind of μείωσις are frequent. So *Plat.* ἐπιτάφ. p. 14. l. 15. ὁ πάνυ φαῦλη, i. e. ἀγαθή.

4 θάπτωσι] The word comprehends all the several previous acts as well as the principal one of *interment*.

3 ἀεὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς πολίταις] *Throughout the whole course of this war*, of which *Thucydides*, was writing —— From *Plato* p. 35. l. 5. it seems that the Ceremony of a publick commemoration was then become anniversary, whether there was any war or no. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 227.

5. ἐπὸτε

2 5 ὁπότε συμβαίη αὐτοῖς] viz. τὰ δυσχερῆ, *when any accident or misfortune befell them.*

6 Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου] For his Character see *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 7, 9 &c. *Stanyan* V. 1. 295, 2.

7 ἐπιδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε] viz. ἡ ἀρχή. Some copies have it καιρὸν ἐλάμβανε, *he took the convenient time:* we find a similar expression *Act.* 24, 25. see parallel expressions cited by *Raphael* from *Polybius*.

7 ὡς ἐπίπλειστον] (viz. μέρος) τῷ ὁμίλῳ, *that as many might hear as possible.* —— If ἀκούοιτο was used in a passive signification it should have been ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμίλου.

12 τὸν πρόσθεν τῷ νόμῳ] *Who to the institution of other funeral solemnities added this of a publick oration.* Some refer it to *Solon*; which account suits better with the expression p. 3. l. 2. τοῖς πάλαι, than *Diodorus Siculus*'s or *Dion. Halicarnassæus*'s, who place the original of it no higher than the *Persian* war: much less will that expression allow us to suppose *Pericles* himself to have been the introducer thereof immediately after the reduction of *Samos*.

ib. ὡς καλὸν] viz. πρᾶγμα ὄν. (the Accusative absolute.) *as being an institution well contrived to do honour to the memories of such as are buried from the field of battle.*

14 ἔργῳ —— οἷς] To make the construction compleat, τούτῳ is to be supplied. N. B. the transition from the singular to the plural: the plural οἷς refers to the several particulars comprehended in the ἔργον or funeral solemnity. ἔργον and λόγος are in these Orations frequently opposed to each other even to a high degree of affectation. — See an instance of this opposition made with great propriety, 2 *Cor.* 10. 11.

16 δημοσίᾳ] viz. γνώμῃ; or rather παρασκευῇ, implied in the participle παρασκευασθέντα.

17 οὕτε τῷ χεῖρον ἀκούσαντι πιστευθῆναι] viz. τῷ — πιστευθ. *by being intrusted to the management of a single Orator, be it good or bad:* whereby the reputation of men who have given evidence of their bravery will certainly run some risque of being impaired.

18 χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως ἀκοῦσαι] *to observe the true μέτρον* dicendi, *which is Truth*; or, *to hit the true medium in speaking*, and give general satisfaction.

ib. ᾧ ᾧ] Some refer it to ἀκροατῇ, i. e. *before a person in whom:* I should rather refer it to the τὸ μετρίως ἀκοῦσαι, viz. *in the doing which*; or else *on a subject, wherein the appearance of* Truth can scarce be confirmed.

ib. ᾧ ᾧ μὴ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας μόλις βεβαιῶται] *In doing which one can scarce answer or confirm the expectations with which the Hearers come prejudiced about the Truth.*

19 ξωειδὼς]

2 19 ξυναειδὼς] viz. τὰς ἀρετάς. *The man who has been an eye-witneſs of their virtues, and in conſequence thereof is become* ὑπὸ *prejudiced in their favour.*

20 πρὸς ἃ βέλτιστά τε καὶ ἐπίστα᾽] *In compariſon of what he wiſhes to hear ſaid and what he knows ought to be ſaid upon the occaſion.*

21 ἄπειρος] *The man of no experience in military matters,* or, *he that is quite a ſtranger to the affair.*

ib. ἔστιν ἃ] *ſome things.*

ib. πλεοναζειν δοκῶ] Supply νομίσειεν. Sch.

22 φύσιν] *His own natural abilities.*

μείζω γὰρ τῶνδε] *Salluſt. Proœm. B.C.* Quæ ſibi quiſque facilia putat æquo animo accipit, ſupra ea, veluti ficta pro falſis ducit.

24 αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴεται ἱκανὸς εἶναι] Inſtead of ἕκαστος οἴεται ἑαυτὸν ἱκανὸν εἶναι.

3 1 φθονοῦντες] N. the tranſition from the ſingular αὐτὸς to the plural.

3 τυχεῖν] Aſſequi, *to obtain,* or rather *to hit the mark, not to miſs of or diſappoint your* βουλησεως, that *affectionate regard which You entertain of the perſons deceaſed,* in conſequence of your δόξης, or *the honourable opinion You have of their merit.* See above, p. 2. l. 20. βέλτιστα καὶ ἐπίστατο.

7 ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε] viz. καιρῷ or πραγματι or ἐπαίνῳ.

8 ἥ γὰρ χώρα &c.] *Cic. pro L. Flacco.* Quæ vetuſtate eâ eſt, ut ipſa ex ſeſe ſuos cives genuiſſe dicatur, et eorum eadem terra parens, altrix, patria dicatur.

ib. ἀεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ &c.] *They have all along continued poſſeſſors.* There is ſcarce any people but what have ſhewn their vanity in endeavouring to carry the original anceſtors of their country as high as poſſible. The *Athenians* would needs be thought Αὐτόχθονες, *ſprung from the earth,* and to have derived their origin from no other nation. And thus much muſt be ſaid, that *Attica,* being a rocky and barren country, was leſs moleſted than the neighbouring regions, which by their fruitfulneſs afforded more temptation to invaders. The original plantation of thoſe parts of *Greece* is with reaſon ſuppoſed to have been made by *Javan,* the fourth ſon of *Japhet*; and it is certain alſo that they received colonies afterwards from *Egypt.* See *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 2, 3 &c.

9 μείζω τῶνδε] viz. ἢ χρείαν.

10 ἄξιοι] Supply ἐσμὲν.

11 πρὸς οἵους] i. e. πρὸς τούτους ἃ ἰδίᾳ.

12 οὐκ ἀπόνως may be referr'd either to κτησάμενοι, *it coſt them ſome pains to acquire it,* —— or to παρεσκεύασαν, *it coſt them pains to ſecure it to us.*

13 τὰ δὲ πλέω αὐτῆς &c.] If the κτήσασθαι ὅσην ἔχομεν ἀρχὴν was owing to their Forefathers, how can it be ſaid τὰ δὲ πλέω αὐ-

τῆς

3 τῆς ἐπηυξήσαμεν? —— The word ἀρχὴ may refer to the antient Dominion of *Attica* itself: Or, the words τὰ δὲ may be the Speaker's Oratorical correction of what he had just been saying. *Pericles* refers to the acquisitions which had been made during his administration by the reduction of *Eubœa* and *Samos*. See *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 311, 316.

14 ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ] Who are as yet *of the stated age of military service.* The *Athenians* at 18 years of age began their military service by being appointed to guard the city, with the forts belonging to it: but were not sent to foreign wars 'till 20: the *Lacedæmonians* seldom 'till 30: After 60 it seems to have been usual in most places to allow them liberty to retire from further service. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 6. At *Athens* the whole season for military duty was 42 years, reckoning form 18 to 60. See *Taylor* not. ad *Lysiam* p. 125.

15 καὶ τῷ πόλει &c.] The *Athenians* having done signal service to the common safety by repelling the attacks of the *Persians*, were now look'd upon as the most considerable State of *Greece*. And they did not fail to make advantage of this their reputation, by getting themselves invested with the power of providing for the common welfare, and for that purpose of levying tribute upon all their neighbours, and managing the publick treasure; which trust they discharged no less to their own than the publick advantage.

17 ἢ ἔτι —— ἠμυνάμεθα] For ἠμυνόμεθα ἐποιήσαμεν.

18 Βάρβαρον ἢ Ελληνα πόλεμον ἐπιόντα] For πόλεμον ἀπὸ Βαρβάρων ἢ Ελλήνων ἐπιόντα.

20 ἐπιτηδευσις comprehends all that serves to render a man ἐπιτήδειον: and inasmuch as education does in a more especial manner fit persons for their respective business, it comes to signify *Education.*

23 ἐπὶ τῷ παρόντι] viz. χρόνῳ, or πράγματι, or ἐπαίνῳ.

25 ξύμφορον εἶναι ὑμῖν] For ὑμῖν —— or, *imagining it to be useful* that *the whole assembly should hear.*

4 1 πολιτείαν] *Solon* in settling the Constitution of the *Athenian* government endeavour'd to poise one part of State against the other: so that what the meaner sort of people wanted in wealth and honour was sufficiently made up to them in their share of the Government. See *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 181.

ib. ἃ ζηλώσας] as that of *Lacedæmon* did; the laws whereof were borrowed from the *Cretans* and *Egyptians.* *Stan.* V. 1, 70, 72.

3 ὀνομα] Supply κατά.

ib. Διὰ τὸ ἐς ὀλίγους οἰκεῖν] *Because we do not manage the affairs of state with a view to the advantage of a Few.* οἰκεῖν for διοικεῖν, viz. τὰ τῆς πόλεως. —— The prepositon ἐς determines the persons here spoken of to be the object of the administration of

4 of Government, and not the persons conducting it; in which latter case the *Greek* should have been ἀφ' τὸ μὴ ὑπ' ὀλίγων ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πλειόνων οἰκεῖσθαι.

5 ἰδία ἀμφίοσιν] i. e. τὰ ἀμφίρεοντα τοῖς ἰδιώταις, Sch. *as to matters of private controversy*. All Persons, without distinction of Quality, were capable of being appointed to sit in judgment, provided they were arrived to the age of 30 years, and had never been convicted of any notorious crime. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 108.

6 ἐν τῳ] For ἐν τινί, viz. πράγμασι.

7 οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους] Τέτο λέγ ἀφ' τὰς Ηρακλείδας βασιλεῖς τῶν Λακάνων, οἱονεὶ ἀπὸ μέρους ἦρχον, ἀφ' μόνω τῶ εὐγενείαν, καὶ μὴ ἔχον τῶ ἀρετῶ. Sch. *not from partial views* of family, wealth &c. but, as he says above, ὡς ἕκαστος &c. However 'tis to be observed, that tho' by *Solon*'s constitutions the poorer Citizens were invested with the management and controll of all affairs of State equally with men of fortune, yet according to them, no man was eligible into the Archonship, except he was possessed of such a considerable estate in land as would produce 500 *Medimnas* of Grain. Several struggles were made by the Commonalty to get the government entirely into their hands; and in *Aristides*'s time it was thought expedient to render the poorer sort capable of appearing as Candidates for the highest offices and preferments. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 72. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 13.

9 οὐδ' —— κεκάλυπται] The Ἐκκλησία, or publick Assembly for the management of state affairs, consisted of all such as were freemen of *Athens*, of what quality soever; wherein every man, except under the age of 30 or convicted of some heinous crime, had liberty to declare his sentiments concerning the state of the Common-wealth. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 91, 95, 96.

10 καὶ ἐς τὸν &c.] *And as to the view in which we consider*, or, *the construction which we put upon the* ἐπιτηδεύματα, *the behaviour and conduct of one another in ordinary affairs, such as happen* καθ' ἡμέραν.

12 ἔχοντες] For ἔχομεν.

ib. δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες τὸν —] The same with ὀργιζόμενοι τῳ —

ib. κατὰ ἡδονήν] *according to the bent of his own humour, be it ever so capricious.*

ib. οὐδ' ἀζημίους μὲν λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψει ἀκηδίας ἀποτίμωμοι] *Nor using such severity of discipline, as tho' not intended by way of punishment is yet grievous to behold*; Or, τῇ ὄψει may be referr'd to ἀποτίμωμοι as the manner of giving uneasiness, by *sour looks, which tho' they have not the nature of a punishment, yet are very teizing and vexatious.* The *Lacædæmonians* were famous for the severity with which they treated their Child-

4 ren: A ſpecimen whereof may be given in the yearly cuſtom which they had of whipping their Boys at the altar of *Diana Taurica*, which they would bear patiently 'till the blood ran; and ſometimes their emulation carried them on 'till they dy'd on the ſpot: This was not done by way of puniſhment, but in order to inure them to undergo hardſhips and fatigues. The ſame purpoſe was intended to be ſerved by their going barefoot, with their heads ſhaven, and by their fighting with one another: Add to this, that they were conſtantly under the inſpection of ſome one to exerciſe immediate command over them. And in this kind of minority they ſeem to have lived 'til they were 30 years of age. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 79 &c.

14 τὰ ἴδια] Supply κατά.

15 τῶν τε ἀεὶ ὲν ἀρχῇ ὄντων] *of thoſe perſons at all times, who happen to be inveſted with authority.* So Xenoph. Κ. Π. Δ. ἵνα ἀιδῶσι τὸ ἀεὶ καίριον. ut cognoſcerent quid tempore quolibet fieri oporteret. and again Κ. Π. Η. παρὰ τῷ ἀεὶ ὄντι βασιλεῖ, *regi qui quovis tempore rerum potitur.*

19 τῶν πόνων πλείστας &c.] The *Athenians* ſeem to have outdone all other people in the number of their Feſtivals; nor did the frequency of them abate any thing of the ſolemnity and charges at their obſervation. Moſt of them were celebrated at the publick expence. *Archæol.* v. 1. B. 2. c. 19, 20.

ib. τῇ γνώμῃ] *upon deliberate principle —— out of a principle of good policy.*

20 θυσίας] Of the *Græcian* ſacrifices, ſee *Archæol.* v. 1. B. 2. c. 4.

ib. διετησίοις] *annual*; or, *throughout the year.* The Scholiaſt has δι' ὅλου ἔτους θύουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καθ' ἑκάστην πλὴν μιᾶς ἡμέρας.

ib. νομίζοντες] the ſame as κατὰ τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα ἡμῶν ἀσκοῦντες. Sch.

21 ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν] Supply γιγνόμενον.

22 ἐκπλήσσει] *baniſhes every vexatious uneaſy thought.*

ib. ἐπεισέρχεται ἢ ὁπόσης γῆς τε πάντα.] The *Athenians* greatly improved their trade and navigation by means of their colonies and ſettlements upon all parts of the ſea coaſt, as well throughout *Aſia minor*, and the Iſlands of the *Ægean* Sea, as in *Theſſaly*, *Macedon* and *Thrace*: The conſequence whereof was the introduction of Luxury in all its ſhapes. —— At *Lacedæmon*, *Lycurgus* took effectual care to prevent the importation of ſuch foreign commodities as might tend to effeminacy and exceſs, by prohibiting the uſe of gold and ſilver-money. See *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 77.

4 ἑαυτὸν]

4 ἐναντίων] viz. the *Lacedæmonians*.

3 οὐκ ἔστι (viz. χρόνος) ὅτε] *never — no inſtance can be produced.*

ib. ξενηλασίαις] *Lycurgus*'s inſtitutions diſcouraged the intercourſe of Foreigners among the *Lacedæmonians*, to prevent their introducing a corruption of manners, and breaking in upon the conſtitution of the Government. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 78.

ib. μαθήματος ἢ θεάματος] *the privilege of our Schools or Theater, any kind of inſtruction or ſpectacle.*

6 ὃ μὴ κρυφθῆν] For οὗ μὴ κρυφθῆναι, or at leaſt μὴ κρυφθῆν ſeems redundant; for ὃ ἄν τις ἰδὼν (μὴ κρυφθῆν) is ſufficient.

7 παῖς παρασπόνδοις καὶ ἀπάταις] The *Lacedæmonian* youth were carefully trained up at home to the politick part of war by being habituated to their Watches, Guards, Ambuſcades, with other wiles and ſtratagems, to give them a notion of what they were afterwards to do in the field. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 80, 81, 84.

9 ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει] See p. 4. l. 13.

10 τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέχοντας] *follow after fortitude, τὸ τοῖς ἀνδράσι πρέπον.* Sch. Or, it may be, *paſs on to the ſtate of manhood* the ſame as τὰ ἀνδρῶν τέλη, *Plat.* 34. l. 23. Or, ἡβῶντες νῦν ἔτι, *in their youth undergo the ſervice of men.*

11 τεκμήριον δὲ] more fully, τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστι, or, τούτου δ' ἂν ἄλλο τι ἐπιφέροι.

12 καθ' ἑκάστους] *by ſeparate parties and detachments.*

ib. μετὰ πάντων] *with their whole united forces.*

13 τῶν πόλεως] viz. ἀνθρώπων.

15 ἀθρόᾳ τῇ δυνάμει] *any large and conſiderable body of our forces.*

17 ἐν τῇ γῇ] antithetical to ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ implied in the word ναυτικῷ.

18 ἐπίπαν ψυχῆς.] It was the conſtant practice of the *Athenians*, at firſt from neceſſity and afterwards from policy, to ſpread themſelves in Colonies throughout the ſeveral coaſts of *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Theſſaly*, *Peloponneſus*, *Aſia Minor* and the *Iſles* of the *Ægean* Sea: from which practice they derived immenſe advantages in commerce. Very early, *Strabo* L. 8. remarks, ἔτω πολυανδρήσαι τὴν χώραν συνέπεσε τότε, ὥστε καὶ ἀποικίαν τῶν Ἰώνων ἔστειλαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι. This policy of the *Athenians* is particularly to be regarded to ſee the force of *Demoſthenes*'s reaſoning againſt *Philip*.

19 ὠθούμενοι] viz. the *Lacedæmonians*.

20 νικηθέντες] Supply the word φασὶν or λέγουσιν, which is implied in the word αὐχοῦσιν; for the word αὐχοῦσιν itſelf can not here be properly made uſe of.

21 ἃ ἡδυμίᾳ μᾶλλον &c.] *If then we men of eaſe and pleaſure* (as the *Lacedæmonians* are pleaſed to call us) *rather than habituated*

5 *bituated to toil and hard ſervice, can readily face danger, not* 5 *ſo much out of a ſervile compliance with penal laws* ——

22 περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν] *we have however, notwithſtanding our* ῥᾳθυμίᾳ, *ſo much ſpirit and induſtry remaining.*

23 μὴ προθυμεῖσθαι] *not to faint at the approach of future difficulties*, Or, *not to anticipate our future troubles by a courſe of previous hardſhips, ſo wearing out our ſtrength and ſpirits before we encounter them.*

25 μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους] Regularly it ſhould be ἀτολμοτέρους.

6 1 ῥᾳθυμάζομεν] Supply φαμὲν or περιγίγνεται.

2 φιλοκαλοῦμεν &c.] *we have the art of appearing like Gentlemen of taſte without extravagance, and as Scholars without effeminacy.* Alluding to what is objected to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, that it enervates the mind, and renders men unfit for active life. *Socrates* and *Xenophon* particularly diſtinguiſh'd themſelves as Soldiers. *Stanyan* V. 2. p. 60, and 40. *Rollin* V. 3. p. 297, and 405.

4 ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ] *rather than for oſtentation to make ourſelves talked of.*

5 αἰσχρὸν] Supply νομίζομεν.

7 πρὸς ἔργα] *to Trades and Husbandry*; for as the former were called Ἐργάται, ſo the latter were Γεωργοί. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 50.

8 τόν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα &c.] All Freemen of *Athens* were expected to give their attendance at the publick Aſſemblies, and when they became remiſs in it, the Magiſtrates uſed their utmoſt endeavours to compell them, ſhutting up all the Gates of the City excepting that thro' which they were to paſs to the place of the Aſſembly; and ſometimes they proceeded ſo far as to fine thoſe that behaved negligently, and to reward thoſe that came thither early. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 94. This buſy diſpoſition continued to be their character in St *Paul*'s time, Act. 17. 21. *All the Athenians ſpent their time in nothing but hearing and telling ſome new thing.*

9 οὐκ ἀπράγμονα ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον] This principle was carried ſo far among the *Athenians*, that in the caſe of ſeditions and civil wars it was highly penal in any man to keep neuter, and not to join with one or other of the contending parties. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 182. See alſo *Lect. Lyſiac.* c. 11.

ib. καὶ αὐτοὶ] *And We* (not caring to truſt to other people for the management of our publick affairs, We *ourſelves* have all of us our full employment therein) ἢ κρίνομεν, *either we exert ourſelves*, as Speakers, *in debating and examining*, ἢ εὐθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα, *or*, as Hearers, *in conſidering and forming a right apprehenſion of what we are to undertake.*

10. λέγειν]

6 10. λόγως] The *Lacedæmonians* were as remarkable for their taciturnity and few words, as the *Athenians* were for their love of publick harangues.

11 ἀλλὰ] Supply βλαῦλον ἡγούμεθα. —— *Salluſt.* &c. *de B. Jug.* At ego ſcio, Quirites, qui poſtquam Conſules facti ſunt, acta majorum et Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cœperint, homines præpoſteri. Nam gerere quàm fieri tempore poſterius, re atque uſu prius eſt.

13 ὥστε πολμᾶν &c.] *Sall. de B. Jug.* Ac ſane, quod difficillimum imprimis, et prœlio ſtrennus erat, et bonus conſilio: quorum alterum ex providentiâ timorem, alterum ex audaciâ temeritatem adferre plerumque ſolet.

14 ὃ] i. e. καθ' ὃ, *in which particular.*

17 ἀφ' ὧν] i. e. ἀφ' τὸ σαφέστατα γιγνώσκειν.

ib. μὴ ἀποτεκμαίρωμαι] for ἀποτείνωμαι.

18 καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν] i. e.] καὶ ᾧ τὰ &c. *as to the exerciſe of that, which particularly diſtinguiſhes the man of virtue, Beneficence.*

ib. οὐ γὰρ παρόντες τῷ &c.] *Sall. B. Cat.* magiſque dandis quàm accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant. and again, *Cæſar* beneficiis ac munificentiâ magnus habebatur.

20 βεβαιότερος ἦ] i. e. φίλος ἐστι.

21 ὥστε σώζειν] ἵνα σώζῃ.

ib. ἀμβλύνεται] q. d. the *edge* of his generoſity is taken off and *blunted.*

22 ἀδὺς — ἀποδόσιν] i. e. ἀδὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀποδόσειν.

ib. σὺν ἐς χαρὰν] *that it will not entitle him to thanks.*

23 ξυμφέροντος λογισμῷ] *the computation of advantage.*

ib. τῇ ἐλευθερίας πίστει] *in confidence of their generoſity whom we oblige.*

7 1 ξυνελὼν] viz. πάντα, *to ſum up all, bring all to a point.*

ib. τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν] *that our City taken in the whole.*

2 καθ' ἕκαστον] *each man in his ſingle capacity.*

3 παρ' ἡμᾶς] viz. ὑπάρχοντα, γιγνόμενα, &c. *men that go out from among us,* viz. to the publick Games of *Greece.*

ib. ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' ἄθλα] viz. in the ſeveral kinds of bodily exerciſes, ſuch as Leaping, Running, Throwing, Darting, Wreſtling, Racing. *Solon* to encourage the *Athenians* in theſe feats of activity enacted an allowance of 100 Drachms (3*l* 4*s* 7*d*) out of the publick Treaſury to every *Athenian*, who obtained a prize in the *Iſthmian* Games, and 500 to ſuch as were victors in the *Olympian*. Afterwards the latter of theſe had their maintenance in the *Prytanæum*. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 441. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 10. c. 1. art. 2. §. 10. Such rule of good Policy is preſcribed *Xen.* K. Π. α. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι τόγε μελετᾶσθαι ἄμφω τὼ πολεμικὼ ἔργω, ἀγῶνας δὲ τοὺς μὲν δικαίῳ σφίσιν ἑκάστοις

7 τοις ἢ ἄθλα προτιθεὶς, μᾶλιστα ἂν ποιεῖν εὖ ἀσκεῖσθαι ἕκαστα, ὥστε, ὁπόσε δέοιτο, ἔχειν ἂν παρασκευασμένοις χρῆσθαι.

5 ἐν τῷ παρόντι] viz. ἐπαίνῳ.

7 τὸ νῦν] viz. ὄυσαν.

ib. ἀκοῆς κρέισσων ἐς πεῖραν ἔρχεται] *upon being brought to the trial or test is found to exceed the character which it bears.*

8 ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχῃ] i. e. παρέχῃ, *affords ground to an Enemy to conceive an indignation,* ὑφ' οἵων, *at the meanness of the persons by whom he suffers.*

9 τῷ ὑπηκόῳ κατάμεμψιν] ἔχῃ, i. e. παρέχῃ, *affords just reason to its Vassals to complain.*

10 σημείων] may be interpreted *proofs from fact.* —— μάρτυρες, are *living witnesses, vouchers,* &c.

12 ἐδὲν προσδεόμενοι] for κατ' ἐδὲν, i. e. ἐδαμῶς προσδεόμεθα.

13. οὔτε Ομήρου ἐπαινέτου] *Cic. pro Arch.* O Te felicem, qui Homerum virtutis tuæ præconem nactus es. The character which *Homer* gives of the *Athenians* Il. B. 546 &c. is certainly an advantageous one. He there speaks of their City, as εὐκτίμενον —— of their *Country,* as fruitful, the seat of the Goddess of Culture Αρουρα, ἓῳ ἐνὶ πίονι νηῷ — and of the People, in the person of the first Former of their state, as μεγαλήτορα — ὃν ποτ' Αθήνη θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ. — and in that of their General *Menestheus,* as scarce to be paralleled for military skill. But in the course of the Poem, *Menestheus* and his followers the *Athenians* are seldom mentioned; while several other *Græcian* Leaders have separate Books assigned them for the display of their atchievements. And this may be a probable reason, why the *Athenian* Orator here seems to undervalue all the encomiums that *Homer*'s Pen could give.

14 τὸ δὲ ἔργον ὑπέρογκον ἡ ἀληθείᾳ βλάψῃ] for ἡ τῶν ἔργων ὑπέρογκος βλάψει τὴν ἀληθειαν, *the too high opinion which a Poet may raise of the atchievements, will hurt or impair the credit of what was really atchieved.* Or else, *the truth as it will appear upon examination, will destroy the high opinion which the Reader of such a Poem may have preconceived.*

15 κατεναγκάσαντες] For κατηναγκάσαμεν, and so ξυγκατοικίσαντες.

18 δικαιωθῆναι μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι αὐτὴν] i. e. ἃ δίκαιον νομίζοντες ἀφαιρεθῆναι αὐτὴν, *not thinking it right, that it should be deprived of those great advantages,* which are just before mentioned, its δύναμις &c.

19 πάντα πνὰ] either *each particular person of those who survive*; or, *that they who survive will be ready to undergo every thing that may happen.*

23 ὁμοίως] For ὅμοιον; or rather supply πεπραγμένον.

8 2 ἰσόρροπος —— ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων] The meaning seems to require ἰσόρροπα τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἔργα, *the facts will not be found upon*

8 *upon enquiry to be equal to the commendation which is given of them.*

ib. ἰσόῤῥοπος &c.] *Sall.* B. *Cat.* In primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primùm quod facta dictis sint exæquanda.

3 δοκεῖ δὲ δηλοῖ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν] *seems to manifest the bravery of a man*, i. e. *a true manly bravery.*

5 ἢ νῦν τῶνδε καθ' ὁτιοῦν] not barely the death, but *the whole course of that military service, in which they lost their lives, this ἐκφάτι τε μηνύσαι, as it first discovered the bravery of these men,* καὶ τελευταία βεβαίωσαι, *so it gave to it the seal of final confirmation.*

6 τοῖς πᾶσι χείρωσι] οἷον, κλοπὴν, μοιχείαν ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα. Sch.

7 κακὸν ἀφανίσαντες] *wiping out the stain or memory of their misconduct.*

8 ὠφέλησαν] For ὠφελήσειαν ἄν, *they may do it more service*; Or, *in fact they have done their country more service.*

ib. ἰδίαν] viz. ἀμφορημάτων.

10 οὔτε πενίας ἐλπίδι] *nor was induced by the hopes of poverty*, i. e. the hopes which poor men are apt to indulge, that by continuing to flee from poverty, they may at length surmount the difficulties of it and grow rich.

12 πρωμείαν πολεμιωτέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες] *considering the taking vengeance of their Enemies to be much more desirable than either those situations of life.*

14 μετ' αὐτῆ] viz. τύτε δ καλέσαν τ κινδύνων.

ib. τῶν ἄ] viz. δ πλύτε καὶ δ φυγῆν τὴν πενίαν ἐφιεῖς, *and make this their road to wealth.*

15 ἐλπίδι μ τὸ ἀφανὲς δ κρεῤῥῶσαν ἐπιτρέψαντες] q. d. τὸ κρεῤῥῶσαν ἢ τ ἀφανὲς, τῦτο μ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἐπιτρέψαντο, *success they knew to be a thing uncertain; this therefore they committed to hope,* or *contented themselves with hoping the best.*

16 περὶ δ ὁρμῶντ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς] viz. *the nature of their duty and the dangers attending it.*

18 ἑαυτούς] viz. ἑαυτούς.

19 ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ &c.] ἐν βραχεῖ καιρῷ ἀκμάζοντες τὸ εὐδοξίαν καὶ ἀχλὲ δυσκλείας, or ἀκμαζόντες τὸ αὐτοῖς ἔτι τῆς δόξης καὶ ἐλπίδος δ νικῆσαι, μᾶλλον ἤγων δ δέος καὶ δ φυγεῖν (ἀκμάζοντ@) ἀπηλλάγησαν τὴν σφαγὴν δεξάμβοι, i. e. ἀπίστων. Sch. *in one moment of time, at the very turn and crisis of their fortune in battle they were released, rather from their apprehensions of hope than of fear,* for whatever they had of the former, they had none at all of the latter.

23 ἀσφαλιστέραν] viz. τὴν πόλιν.

9 6 εὐθυμεμένοις] It should regularly be εὐθυμεμένους, for it is a continuation of the reflection σκοπῦντας, l. 1. and ἡγεμόνους, l. 4. the words ὅπου ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξη ἔσαι are only parenthetical;

9 tical; yet the dative ὑμῖν therein influences the ſucceeding participle.

ib. ὅπι τολμῶντες &c.] *Sall. B. Cat.* Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere —— domi induſtria, foris juſtum imperium, animus in conſulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius.

9 ἀξιῶντες] For ἠξιώθησαν, and ſo ἀφιγμένοι, for ἀφίκηνται.

ib. κάλλιστον ἔρανον] *the nobleſt contribution that could be made, viz.* that of their own perſons. ſo Xenoph. Κ. Π. ζ. ἐς τίνα ποτ' ἂν καλλίονα ἔρανον ἀλλήλοις παραβαλοίμεθα, ἢ ἐς τόνδε; νῦν γὰρ ἔξεστιν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι χρυσοῦς ποιεῖν καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἀπαιτεῖν.

15 σηλῶν] It was common to beautify ſepulchres with pillars of ſtone, which frequently contained Inſcriptions declaring the Family, Virtues, and whatever elſe was remarkable in the Deceaſed. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 221.

16 ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ] viz. χώρᾳ, *a country which does not belong to them*; it being reckon'd a great misfortune to die, or at leaſt to be buried in a foreign country.

17 τῷ ἔργῳ] *any work, any ſuch funeral ſolemnity as we are now performing* (as the word is uſed p. 2. l. 14. and alſo by *Plato* and *Lyſias*) or, *any ſepulchre erected with much labour.*

19 μὴ προϊδῶσι] *do not overlook, not think yourſelves unconcern'd in.*

20 οἷς ἐλπὶς σὺν &c.] *Sall. B. Cat.* quibus —— neque ſpes bona ulla.

21 ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολὴ] *the contrary change*, viz. from happineſs to miſery, from honour to diſgrace.

ib. ἐν οἷς —— μεγάλα τὰ διαφέροντα] *in whom the difference is truly great.*

23 ἀνδρεία γε φρονήματι ἔχοντι] *a man of ſpirit.*

24 ἢ ἐν τῷ μὴ τῇ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις] Q. whether it might not rather be written ἢ ἐν τῷ μὴ &c. (as p. 6. l. 1.) the ſuffering a diminution *in any reſpect*, eſpecially if the doing ſo be attended with or occaſioned by cowardice and effeminacy.

ib. ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης —— θάνατος] *death occaſioned by the vigorous exertion of our ſtrength and courage*, or, *arriving while we are in vigour.*

10 1 μετὰ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος] *the common hopes either of coming in for a ſhare of the ſolemnity of an honourable interment in their own country, together with their comrades who fell with them,* (to which purpoſe the expreſſion ſeems uſed by *Lyſias* p. 40. l. 5.) or *the common hopes of having ſerved their country.*

ib. ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητος] q. d. ὃς ἅμα τῷ vel ἐν τῷ γίγνεσθαι ἦν ἀναίσθητος.

4 ἐπι-

4 ἐπίστανται τεραφέντες] q. d. ἐπίστασιν ἑαυτὲς τεραφῆναι, *they know that by the course of* (their breeding up and therefore of) *human life, they are subject to a variety of misfortunes.*

ib. τὸ εὐτυχές, οἳ ἂν εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσιν &c.] more distinctly thus, τὸ δ' εὐτυχὲς ἐπίστανται αὐτῶν εἶναι, οἳ ἂν εὐπρεπεστάτε πνὸς λάχωσιν, ὥσπερ οἰδὲ μὴ νῦν εὐπρεπεστάτης ἔλαχον τελευτῆς, (ὑμεῖς δὲ εὐπρεπεστάτης λύπης ἐλάχετε, parenthetically.)

6 ᾧ ἐν οἷς &c.] *and whose happiness and life have been made commensurate to each other, they being no less happy in the circumstance of their deaths than in their lives.*

7 πέφυκεν] viz. ὑμᾶς μὴ ἀναμιμνήσκειν ταῦτα.

9 ἡ λύπη] i. e. ἡ οἵδ' ὅτι λύπη ἐστί.

13 τῶν δὴ ὄντων] *of those who are now no more.*

14 ᾧ τῇ πόλει διέφθειρε] viz. οἱ ἐπιμιγνύμενοι λαθὴ ἔσεσθαι.

15 ἐκ γὰρ οἵου τε ἴσου τε &c.] Agreeably hereunto it was one necessary qualification for being elected into the office whether of Στρατηγὸς or Ρητὸρ (*General* in the Army or *Manager* of publick debates,) that a man had children born in lawful marriage; they being look'd upon as the best security for their Parents good behaviour. *Dinarch. Orat. contra Demosth.*

16 ὧν δ' ὁμοίως] viz. μέρος, or τρόπον.

17 κέρδος ὄν] because there were many chances against their ever arriving at old age.

18 ἡγεῖσθε δὲ τόνδε βραχὺν &c.] *Cic. de Senect.* Me ipse consolabar, existimans non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore. *and again, de Amicit.* Quarum rerum recordatio et memoria si una cum illo *(Scipione)* occidisset, desiderium conjunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre nullo modo possem: sed nec illa extincta sunt, alunturque potiùs et augentur cogitatione et memoriâ meâ: et, si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen afferret mihi ætas ipsa solatium: diutius enim jam in hoc desiderio esse non possum.

19 τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον] referring to the *love of honour* implied in τῇ ὑμῶν εὐκλείᾳ κεφίζεσθε, q. d. for if you cherish in your minds this love of honour, as you must do, if you reflect with pleasure upon your Children's glory, this will secure you against the inconveniences of old age.

20 ἐν ἀχρείῳ δὲ ἡλικίας] viz. μέρει, q. d. and indeed there is no comparison between the pleasure arising to the mind during that season of life, in which age disqualifies men from being further serviceable in the world, I say there is no comparison between the pleasure arising from the love of honour, and that arising from the gratification of avarice, that common infirmity of old people.

23 ὁρῶ μέγαν τ' ἀγῶνα] viz. γλυπηδόνιον.

24 καὶ ὑπεροχὴν ἀρετῆς] *supposing you had an extraordinary degree of virtue.*

II 1 φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸν ἀντίπαλον] *for so long as men live they never fail regarding any Rival of theirs with envy.*

3 Εἰ δέ με δεῖ καὶ γυναικείας τὴ ἀρετῆς, ὅσην νῦν ἐν χηρείᾳ ἔσονται, μνησθῆναι] more fully thus, εἰ δέ με δεῖ καὶ μνησθῆναι τ ἀρετῆς τῆς προσηκούσης ταύταις γυναιξὶ, ὅσην νῦν ἐν χηρείᾳ ἔσονται. The *Scholiast* has τῆς σωφροσύνης· μονὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἀρετὴ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἔνεστιν. ἡ γὰρ ἀνδρεία, ἢ δικαιοσύνη, ἢ φρόνησις. — and agreeably hereunto *Fr. Portus, mulierum rectum institutum est domi se continere, pudice & honeste vitam agere* &c. But Q. whether the γυναικεῖα ἀρετὴ is not rather their natural proneneſs to the ſofter paſſion of pity and concern, which certainly argues a virtuous diſpoſition, tho' it may be indulged too far: Such extravagant indulgence he cautions them againſt, by telling them τ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείρους γίγνεσθαι, *that their not behaving on this occaſion unworthy of their noble deſcent, their being* Athenians *by birth*, (as the word φύσις intimates in *Plato*'s Epitaph. p. 16. l. 17) *would be much for their glory,* ᾗ οἷς (or as ſome copies read it ἧς) *and eſpecially as this was a particular in which the other ſex had little opportunity to ſignalize themſelves, whether to their credit or diſcredit.* —— *Plutarch*, in his treatiſe Γυναικῶν Ἀρεταὶ, refers to this paſſage: but, citing it I ſuppoſe by memory, miſrepreſents it, as if *Thucydides* was here deſcribing the moſt excellent Woman to be her, ἧς ἦν ἐλάχιστος ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ψόγος περὶ ἢ ἐπαίνου λόγος. — *Xenoph.* K. Π. 5. *hath a ſimilar expreſſion.* Λεωνίδου —— ἐφάνη μὲν κάλλιστος καὶ ἐλευθεριώτατος, ἅτε καὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπαρχούσης quippe qui liberalis effet etiam a naturâ

10 αὐτῶν τὰς παῖδας &c.] The Children of ſuch as ſacrificed their lives for the glory and preſervation of the *Athenian* commonwealth were carefully educated at the publick charge, μέχρις ἥβης, 'till the age of eighteen years, when they commenc'd Εφηβοι. *(Archæol.* v. 1. p. 48.) Two years after they were introduced at a publick meeting of the Δημόται *(men of the ſame borough)* and enter'd in a regiſter called ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, containing the names of all perſons of that borough who were of age to ſucceed to the λῆξις, or inheritance of their Fathers. At this time they were preſented with a compleat ſuit of armour, and brought forth before the people, one of the publick Miniſters proclaiming before them, that hitherto in remembrance of their Fathers merits the Commonwealth had educated theſe young men, but now diſmiſſed them ſo armed, to go forth and thank their Country by imitating their Fathers examples; and for their further encouragement they had the honour of the firſt ſeats

11 at shews, and all publick meetings. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 116, 346.

10 τὸ λοιπὸ τῆδε] viz. ᾧ χρόνῳ.

ib. δημοσίᾳ] viz. τρόφῃ, implied in the verb θρέψαι.

11 τέφανον] Alluding to the Crowns usually bestow'd upon the victors in the *Olympick* Games; to which this glorious contest, who should deserve best of his Country, was analogous.

12 προτρέπουσι] *holding forth or setting before them*, by way of encouragement and incitement.

NOTES
UPON
PLATO and *LYSIAS*.

TO commemorate the virtues of brave men is an employment no less worthy of the greatest Genius, than it is interesting to every Lover of his Country. To have this task assign'd him by publick Authority must be doubly pleasing a Man of Parts. But without expecting the honour of such a call, a man may naturally enough be led to exercise his thoughts upon the subject, whether out of emulation of other men's performances, or from the desire of doing justice to such valuable characters, as he thinks have not been successfully attempted by others.

To one or other or both of these principles we owe the funeral Oration of *Plato*, and those of *Isocrates* intitled Παναθηναϊκὸς and Παναθηναϊκὸς: the former of which is said to have cost him the labour of 10 or 15 years. Whether *Lysias*'s was ever spoken in publick or no, is uncertain; 'tis probable it was not, at least by himself; for he did not enjoy the full rights of common Citizen at *Athens*, and wanted the ἀξίωμα, mention'd by *Thucydides*, p. 2. l. 2. be a necessary qualification for that honourable office: He therefore most probably compos'd it, either for the use of his Scholars, or for his own amusement, as a model for Orations of this kind; and in fact, *Isocrates* thought it worth his while to pursue the same plan even to a servile exactness. And to me there seems some ground to imagine that *Plato* in composing His funeral Oration, had a particular view to those performances of *Lysias* and *Isocrates*.

Pericles had exhausted what was to be said in praise of the *Athenian* people, and the constitution of their Government. *Lysias* therefore enters upon their History, a subject which was not so much

much as glanced at by *Pericles*. *Plato* ſeems to have approv'd of the plan, but to have thought that it might be purſued to greater advantage, eſpecially by introducing a more particular detail of publick tranſactions: This he does with great conciſeneſs and clearneſs; there being above double the number of principal facts referr'd to in *Plato's* Oration beyond what occur in that of *Lyſias*. (Tho' here we muſt obſerve an overſight in *Plato*, that he makes *Socrates* in this funeral oration refer to ſome facts, which 'tis generally agreed happen'd after his death: This is uſually plac'd in the year before *Chriſt* 399, whereas the peace of *Antalcidas*, evidently referr'd to, was not concluded 'till 13 years after.)

Several paſſages in the proeme plainly intimate that *Plato* had ſome or more Rhetoricians of his own time in view, p. 13. he ridicules their conceit of their own abilities, and the falſe kinds of eloquence into which they were betray'd, —— the airs they gave themſelves in putting off as extemporal harangues what had coſt them great pains and premeditation to compoſe, p. 14. l. 6. — their vanity in keeping their rules of compoſition, and the copies they gave their ſcholars as mighty ſecrets, p. 15. l. 13. and p. 36. l. 5.

2. And as to this particular oration, what *Lyſias* ſays by way of Apology for the imperfection of his performance, his being obliged ἐξ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν λέγειν, p. 36. l. 4. is rallied by *Plato*'s ἴσιν ἐκφύσεις τούτων λόγοι παρεσκευασμένοι. p. 114. C D.

3. *Plato*, p. 15. l. 21. intimates that an oration of this kind ſhould begin from the point, viz. treating of the deceaſed themſelves, and not, as *Lyſias* does, with an Apology for the ſpeaker.

4. The κἀγὼ νῦν πως οἰόμενοι ποικίλλουσιν, which *Plato* rallies, p. 13. is juſtly enough applicable to *Lyſias*'s introducing antithetical expreſſions to a high degree of affectation.

5. What *Plato* ſays of the impropriety of condoling with the friends of the deceaſed, the ξυμφορεσθαι, is a direct cenſure of what *Lyſias* much enlarges upon, p. 55. ἄξιον τούτους πυθέσθαι, ἐὰν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὀλοφύρεσθαι, ἢ τοὺς παρόντας αὐτῶν ἐλεεῖν ἢ ἐπιλοίπτα βλέ.

To which may be added another circumſtance, that *Plato* in another of his pieces (*Phædrus*) has a direct criticiſm or banter upon another oration of *Lyſias*.

It muſt be confeſs'd after all, that there is not any oration of *Lyſias* that ſeems leſs ſubject to exception than this Funeral one: And if we admit the juſtice of * *Cicero*'s character of him, he cannot fail of engaging our attention, being a moſt conſummate maſter of Oratory, equally fitted to do juſtice to ſubjects of every

* *Lyſias* Diſertiſſimus, *Cic.* de Orat. l. 1. 118. Egregie ſubtilis atque elegans. — Orator prope perfectus, preſſus, enucleatus, limatus, grandis, incitatus, ornatus, elatus, gravis tam verbis quam ſententiis. *Brut.* 17. Acutus facetus brevis. *ib.* 31. Venuſtiſſimus atque politiſſimus; nihil habet inſolens aut ineptum. *Orat.* 15.

kind;

kind; the fineſt ſpeaker, exquiſitely delicate and elegant both in his expreſſion and ſentiments, cloſe, perſpicuous, polite, ſpirited, pompous, lofty, pointed, conciſe, full of humour or grave, as his ſubject requires.

Plato likewiſe is by *Cicero* no leſs recommended to our eſteem. At the ſame time thoſe, who are us'd to thoſe high finiſh'd pieces, which *Cicero* has prefix'd to ſome of his Dialogues by way of Proemes, may perhaps be diſguſted at that very great plainneſs and ſimplicity with which the Dialogue-part is here conducted; they may alſo cenſure that frivolous kind of reaſoning which he falls into p.17. (tho' indeed all that could be offer'd in ſupport of his Countrymen's favourite notion of being ὠτέχνους muſt be frivolous.) — But whatever juſtice there may be in any of theſe ſtrictures, both orations are well worthy the peruſal, particularly that Proſopopœia of *Plato*, p. 30. than which nothing can contain better ſenſe, or be work'd up more oratorically.

I have only to add, that I have placed *Plato*'s oration *ſecond* in Order, altho' I ſuppoſe it to have been compoſed after *Lyſias*'s; becauſe he intimates, that it was a ſort of ſupplement to *Pericles*'s oration, p. 15. l. 7.

12 1 Μενέξενος] *Socrates* had a ſon by his wife *Myrton* of this name, *Diog. Laert.* l. 2. 26. and *Suid.* — From the air of the Dialogue, and p. 12. l. 7. it can ſcarce be his ſon who is introduced as ſpeaking. I may here obſerve, that the Writers uſually conſulted upon ſuch names as are here incidentally (Ἀρχῖνος and Δίων p. 14. Κόννος, and Λαμπτὰς and Ἀντιφῶν) namely *Diogenes Laertius* and *Suidas*, afford no ſatisfactory account of either, more than what may be collected from the manner in which their names are here mention'd: excepting indeed as to Ἀντιφῶν, who is generally celebrated as a man of diſtinguiſh'd eminence for his skill in oratory, contrary to what is intimated p. 14.

ib. Ἀγορᾶς] *viz.* the old Forum within the city, in which were frequently held the publick Aſſemblies of the people; though the chief deſign of it was for the purpoſe of buying and ſelling. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 37.

ib. ἐξ ἀγορᾶς] viz. ἔρχει.

3 Βουλευτήριον] In the old Forum there were ſeveral Βουλευτήρια, or publick Halls, where each Company of tradeſmen met and conſulted about their affairs. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 37. —— The Βουλευτήριον here mention'd is the *Senate-Houſe*, where the Senate of 500 met to inſpect and prepare all matters before they were propounded to the general aſſembly of the people, and to tranſact ſeveral things by their own authority. See *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 97 &c. By *Menexenus*'s being there it appears

12 pears that the tranſactions and debates of that council were not kept private; for he was not yet ἐν ἀρχῇ.

3 τί μάλιστα σύ] viz. Δημοκράδης ἀφίκτο πρὸς βουλ. *what could induce you of all people in the world to* —

4 ἐπὶ τέλει — ἥκω] *to have arrived at the laſt and higheſt ſtage of* ——

10 ἡ βουλὴ] See *Thucyd.* p. 2. l. 1.

11 ὅστις] *ſome body or other to ſpeak.*

13 ἐς τὸν αὖθις] viz. ἡμέραν. this Senate met for the moſt part every day. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 99.

15 πολλαχῇ κινδυνεύει καλὸν] *ſure it muſt be a glorious and deſireable thing* καὶ πολλὰς πρόπτος *in many reſpects to* —

13 5 παρασκευασαμένων] uſed in the active ſenſe; or elſe *men who are prepared* (καὶ) λόγους.

6 κρίνεσθαί που ἐνόμισαν ποικίλλοντες] *diverſifying and thereby embelliſhing their panegyrick with fine words.*

12 ἑκάστοτε] *upon every ſuch occaſion* —

13 ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι] viz. χρόνῳ.

14 ὃν οἶδα ἔγωγε πολλὰ, ἀεὶ] Q. whether ἀεὶ is not a gloſs for οἷα τὰ πολλὰ: or thus, καὶ καὶ πῶτα τὰ πράγματα, ὡς καὶ τὰ πολλὰ, ἀεὶ, *and I have always upon this occaſion, as I have upon many others, ſtrangers in my company.* ſee p. 18. l. 24.

19 αὕτη ἡ σεμνότης] *this high ſenſe of my own importance and dignity* ——

20 ἔτως ἔναυλος] *ſo muſical* and ſo enchanting, —— or *continues ſo to tingle in my ears.*

23 τέως] *during that interval.*

14 2 ἐξ ὑπαγωγῆς] viz. χρόνου.

6 ἃ μὲ γὰρ δεῖ (τὸ ῥητορα) Ἀθηναίους ἐν Πελοποννησίοις τοῦ λέγειν. *If an Orator was to undertake the buſineſs of praiſing the Athenians in an aſſembly of Peloponneſians,* who may be ſuppoſed naturally prejudiced in their diſfavour.

9 ἀγωνίζηται] *is to perform his part:* for inaſmuch as an Orator's reputation was ſo highly intereſted in the ſatisfaction which he gave to his Auditors, this buſineſs of ſpeaking might properly be conſidered as an ἄγων. And agreeably hereunto the word εὐδοκιμήσαντος is uſed juſt above; which is an agoniſtical term ſignifying *to acquit oneſelf with credit:* in which ſenſe δόκιμος occurs frequently in SS. 2 Tim. 2. 15. Jam. 1. 2. ἀδόκιμος the contrary 1 *Cor.* 9. 27.

17 Ἀσπασίαν] She was born at *Miletus*; and is ſaid by her wit and beauty to have gain'd the affection of the principal *Grecians* of *Ionia*, as ſhe afterwards did that of *Pericles* at *Athens*; over whom ſhe is ſaid to have had ſo much influence, as cauſed him to engage the *Athenians* in a war againſt the *Samians*, who had got the better of the *Milefians* in a war about the city of *Priene*.

14 18 λέγω γέ] *yes, I do mean her.*
21 Μουσικῇ] Tho' the word is often us'd in a more extended sense so as to comprehend all the politer arts, as being under the common patronage τῶν Μουσῶν, yet here it seems to refer to the art of *modulating* the voice, &c. as ῥητορικὴ does to the art of *composing* an oration.

15 7 μοὶ δοκᾶ] viz. κατὰ μοὶ δοκᾶ.
10 ὀλίγου] for ὀλίγῳ δεῖν, or more fully ὥστε λοιπὸ μικρῷ πράγματῳ δεῖν.
11 ἀλλ' ὅπως] viz. δέδιμεν or σκόπει, βλέπε, &c.
12 ὀρχεῖσθαι] sc. ἐμάνημεν. Tho' Dancing in *Greece* was look'd on as a commendable accomplishment and made a constant part of liberal education, yet this like several others, became perverted to lascivious purposes, particularly what were call'd χορδακισμοὶ, and therefore no wonder that Dancing, when prostituted by Buffoons, should be thought indecent in men of wisdom and character. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 201. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 16. C. 1. Ar. 2. §. 10.

16 1 οὐδ' ἔχειν] In the Edit. it is οὐδ' ἦν δ' ἔχειν. In *Dion. Halicarn.* and *Longin.* ἦν δ' is omitted. The former admires this passage for the harmonious running of the words; the latter observes a particular beauty in *Plato*'s describing Death by the periphrastical expression of ἀμφιμήκη πορείαν, and the discharging of the funeral solemnites by ἀποπιμφθέντες &c.
2 περιόντ' ἀμφιμήκη πόρειαν] Alluding to the opinion that Souls could not be admitted to the common receptacle 'till their bodies were duly interr'd. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 161. &c.
3 χρεὼν] viz. ἀποπέμψαι implied in ἀποπιμφθέντες.
5 αὐτὸ γὰρ] *and it is proper in itself.*
9 εὐμόρως παραινέσαντας] *exhort them in such a manner as to sooth their present sorrow.*
11 ἅ τινες τῶν ἄνωθεν ἦσαν ἀπογόνων] as Grandfathers, Great Grandfathers, &c.
12 τούτους δὲ] Tho' the particle δὲ may seem redundant, yet this repetition is not uncommon in *Plato*, being more strongly determinative of the persons here spoken of.
16 ἠλλάξαντο] *were contented to receive their own deaths in exchange, in order to purchase* ——
17 τῇ φύσει] *in respect of their nature or birth.*
32 ὑπεροχῆς &c.] *a similar expression we have Thucyd.* L. 1. οὐδ' αὖ αὐτοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπάρξαντες — autores fuimus. & Andoc. οἱ ὑπάρξαντες τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

17 1 σὸν ἔπηλυν ὄντα] See Πιερικὰ. p. 3. l 8.
μετοικεῖσθαι] The *Athenians* were extremely jealous of their rights as freeborn Citizens, and were therefore particularly careful to keep up the distinction between themselves and the μέτοικοι, or such as came from foreign countries and settled

tled in *Attica*; where, though they were admitted by the council of *Areopagus*, and enter'd in a publick regiſter, yet they were kept from intermeddling in any buſineſs of a publick nature, or indeed from acting in any thing, unleſs by means of ſome Citizen, under whoſe patronage and protection they placed themſelves. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 43, 53 &c.

4 καὶ νῦν κεῖθεν τελευτήσαντας] viz. φημὶ αὐτὲς κεῖθεν τελ. for this infinitive can't properly be referr'd to ἡ γένεσις ἀποφηναμένη, l. 1.

6 ὑποδεξαμένης.] *which having firſt conceived them, as a Mother, hath now by their burial, received them back again to herſelf.*

10 πολλαχῆ μὲν δὴ ἄλλη] viz. ἐπὶ μέρους.

ib. πρῶτον γὰρ μέγιστον.] ſc. κρῖμα γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτ.

11 ἡ τὲ ἀμφισβητησάντων πρὸς αὐτῆς Θεῶν ἔρις τε καὶ κρίσις] viz. between *Neptune* and *Minerva*, who ſhould be declared Protector of *Athens*. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 31, 91. *Hind.* p. 20, 21.

15 ὧν ἅπασα ἡ πᾶσα γῆ ἀνεδίδα &c.] ſee *Lucret.* l. 5. v. 780 &c.

18 ἐξέννησεν] Alluding to the title in which the *Athenians* prided themſelves, Αὐτόχθονες.

19 νομίζῃ] not only *thinks* there are, but κατὰ τοὺς νόμους σέβεται.

21 πᾶν γὰρ τὸ τέκνον &c.] Notwithſtanding the frivolouſneſs of this reaſoning, *Lucretius* ſeems to have alluded to it, l. 5. v. 805.

Hinc ubi quæque loci regio opportuna dabatur,
Creſcebant uteri terræ radicibus apti;
Quos ubi tempore maturo patefecerat ætas
Infantum fugiens humorem, auraſque petiſſens,
Convertebat ibi Natura foramina terræ,
Et ſuccum venis cogebat fundere apertis
Conſimilem lactis; ſicut nunc fœmina quæque
Cum peperit dulci repletur lacte, ——

22 ὧν καὶ γυνὴ τεκοῦσά τε] The participle here following the adjective is to be thus reſolved, either ὧν γυνὴ δῆλον ἐστι γυναῖκα τεκεῖν ἀληθῶς, or δῆλον ἐστιν ὡς γυνὴ ἔτεκεν ——

23 γυνὴ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὑποδαμαλομένη] viz. γυνὴ (δῆλη) μὴ (τεκοῦσα) ἀλλ' ὑποδ. i. e. καὶ δῆλον ἐστι γυναῖκα μὴ τεκεῖν ἀλλ' ὑποδάμασθαι, or ὡς μὴ ἔτεκεν ἀλλ' ὑποδάμασ[θ]η ——

18 1 μόνη γὰρ &c.] *Lucret.* l. 6. v. 1.

Primæ frugiferos fœtus mortalibus ægris
Dididerunt quondam præclaro nomine Athenæ:
Et recreaverunt vitam, legeſque rogarunt.

2 ἐν τῇ τότε] viz. χρόνῳ.

4 οὐκ

18 8 οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν ἀλλ' ἔνειμε &c.] *It has been so far from dealing them out with a niggardly hand, that it hath imparted sufficient to serve the necessities of others.* As to the fact, *Attica* is on all hands agreed to have been very craggy, and to have had a very unfruitful soil, which, however disadvantageous in other respects, served to quicken the invention of the Inhabitants, and put them upon exerting themselves by trade and commerce. *Stan.* V. 1. 11. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 2. *Rollin* V. 2. B. 5. Art. 3. In the reign of *Pandion* I. *Triptolemus* is said to have taught the *Athenians* to sow and manure the ground, which art he learnt from *Ceres*, the same with the *Egyptian Isis*, who is thought at this time to have come into *Attica*. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 141.

11 Θεὸς ἐπιγενέσθαι] *Cecrops* an *Egyptian* is said to have introduced a form of Religion among the *Athenians*, and to have erected Altars and Statues in honour of the Gods, particularly *Jupiter* and *Minerva*. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 132. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 184.

ib. ὀνόματα πρέπει εἶναι] Inasmuch as it would be descending too low to recount the several inventors of manual arts, and would be foreign to the purpose to be particular in the detail of any transactions but those of a military nature.

13 τέχνας ἀνῶνται] *Cecrops* Navigation, *Triptolemus* Agriculture, *Theseus* civil Polity. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 8, 9, 10. *Pelasgus* Building. *Stan.* p. 10.

15 σκλαν κτήσιν] See *Archæol.* v. 2. B. 3. c. 4.

17 ἀφὲ βραχέων] viz. ῥημάτων.

22 ὧν εἰσὶ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες οἱ τυπλάνητοι] *instances whereof we have now before us in the persons here deceased.*

23 τότε ἦν ᾗ νῦν (ἐστιν) ἀριστοκρατία] viz.] *it was originally, as it now is, in reality according to the import of the name, an Aristocracy, the best constituted form of Government.*

24 ὡς τὰ πολλὰ] The Democracy was broke in upon several times; *viz.* by *Pisistratus*, —— when the Government of the 400 was established, —— when the thirty Tyrants had the Administration.

19 1 ὁ δὲ, ἄλλο] i. e. κατ' ἄλλο ἔνειμε.

2 μετ' εὐδοξίας πλήθους ἀριστοκρατία] *an Aristocracy extending to All the people, with no other distinction than that of their good repute or good desert.* The Commonalty of *Athens* being by *Solon*'s constitution invested with the supreme power in all affairs, as well publick as private, He to prevent the pernicious consequences that might arise from the rashness of an unthinking multitude, instituted a council of men of the best credit in the city to inspect and prepare all matters before they were propounded to the people: this Council at first

19 consisted of 400, afterwards of 500. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 97 &c.

3 Βασιλεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ] *q. d. And whereas the* Lacedæmonians *boast of the advantages of Regal government, we have always had something thereof in our constitution. The persons invested with that authority holding it sometimes by descent, at other times by election.* After *Codrus* the name of *King* was no longer given to the supreme Magistrate, but that of *Archon*. The office was at first perpetual; then decennial; afterwards annual: After which last regulation there were 9 of them; and only one had the title of *Archon:* his authority, tho' much curb'd by his collegues and by the councils, was however pretty nearly as extensive as that of the *Lacedæmonian* Kings. The next was call'd Βασιλεύς, but his jurisdiction related chiefly to religious matters. The third, Πολέμαρχος; and the six others, Θεσμοθέται. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 12, 76. See *Synesius* de Regno. Αθήνησι μὲν ἦν ὁ βασιλεύς τις καλούμενος μικρὰ ἐπράττεν, ἦν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἃς τοὔνομα τῆ Δήμῃ οἶμαι παίζοντες, ἅτι ὄντες ἀκρατῶς ἐλεύθεροι.

4 ἐγκρατὲς τῆς πόλεως] The Commonalty had a negative upon all proceedings of the Senate. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 95, 96. and therefore might be said *to hold* and *restrain* the Government within the bounds of moderation.

5 ἀρχὰς κ᾽ κράτῳ] The people had the disposal of all magistracies at *Athens*; and even those persons who owed their promotion to lot, were first approved by the people before they enter'd upon their office. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 72.

6 κράτος] *influence, authority.*

ib. τοῖς ἀεὶ δόξασιν ἀρίστοις εἶναι] *to men according as they appear distinguished by their viriue.*

ib. ἀδυνέια] (*viz.* ἐπὶ) *for want of personal interest.*

7 οὔτε πενίᾳ] See *Periel.* p. 4. l. 9.

ib. οὐτ᾽ ἀγνωσίᾳ πατέρων] The *Athenians* were very jealous of their rights and privileges as Citizens, and obliged all fathers to enroll their sons in the register of their particular φρατρία, call'd κρινὸν γραμματεῖον. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 47. so that ἀγνωσία πατέρων only signifies their *being men of no figure, or eminence in the state.*

ib. ἀπελήλαται] *is thought disqualified for, or rejected from.*

8. τοῖς ἐναντίοις] (ἐπὶ) *for the contrary qualifications.*

9. ἓς ὅρος] *the one and only mark of distinction is this.*

ib. κρατεῖ] *has influence.*

10 τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης] *of our thus conducting our publick affairs.*

12 ἀνωμάλων] *men of different rank and condition.*

ib. ἀνώμαλοι πολιτεῖαι] *unequal administrations of government.* ὁμαλὸς seu ὁμαλὴς planus, æqualis. ὁμαλὴς δίαιτα æqualitas civilis;

12 civilis: cui πλεονεξίᾳ opponitur, ſeu plus habendi, acquirendique, cupiditas immodica, avaritiaque circumſcribens, quæ ſibi partem majorem juſtâ præcidit; eſt vitium ejus, qui in omni re præcipuum quippiam habere vult. *Budæus.*

13 Τυραννίδος] This was a term of reproach, as is alſo *Oligarchy* in the mouth of an *Athenian*, applied to all Monarchical and Ariſtocratical governments however adminiſtred.

14 οἰκεῖσιν ἡν, ἵνιοι μὲ δοῦλοι, οἱ δὲ δεσπόται &c.] This diſtinction likewiſe obtained at *Athens*; the Servants being the moſt numerous part of the inhabitants of *Attica*. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 43, 57 &c. But what he means is this, that in Monarchical and Oligarchical governments the bulk of the Citizens themſelves are little better than *Slaves*; the *Men of fortune* look upon their inferiors as ſuch.

ib. οἰκεῖσιν οὖν] *the conſequence whereof is ſeen in private life, that* — or — *accordingly they live in ſuch manner as to regard one another* ——

16 οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν] *We neither think ſo meanly of ourſelves as to become the Servants, nor ſo highly as to Lord it over one another* ——

18 ζητεῖν] *to exert ourſelves in ſecuring.*

ib. μηδένι ἄλλῳ] i. e. ἐπὶ μηδένι ἄλλῳ πράγματι *in no other reſpect, on no other account* ——

21 καὶ καλῶς φύντες] *having the glorious advantage of being free-born* ——

22 ἀποφαίνῃ] *have diſplayed, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by* —

20 1 Εὐμόλπου καὶ Ἀμαζόνων] It muſt not be ſuppoſed that theſe expeditions againſt *Athens* happen'd at the ſame time. ſee *Chronol. Tab.*

ib. Εὐμόλπου] He was K. of *Thrace*, and aſſiſted the *Eleuſinians* in a war againſt *Athens* in the reign of *Erectheus*. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 124. *Hind.* p. 26.

ib. καὶ Ἀμαζόνων] This war happened in the reign of *Ægeus*; the *Amazons* being provoked thereunto by his ſon *Theſeus*. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 150. *Hind* p. 57. See *Lyſias* p. 38. l. 10.

2 καὶ τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀρχαίοις] *viz.* in the fabulous times preceding the date of theſe tranſactions.

3 Ἀργείοις] *viz.* when they aſſiſted *Adraſtus* againſt *Creon* in recovering the dead bodies of his friends who were ſlain before *Thebes*. For *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, ſons of *Oedipus* K. of *Thebes*, quarrelling about the adminiſtration of their father's Government, the latter called in to his aſſiſtance *Adraſtus* K. of *Argos*; the attack upon the city of *Thebes* was made under the command of *Polynices* and *Adraſtus*, with five other Captains, commonly called οἱ ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, who all fell, except *Adraſtus*, with defeat of the army of the *Argives*. Upon this, *Creon* uſurped the throne of *Thebes*, and would

would not ſuffer the *Argives* to bury their Dead, till the *Athenians* under *Theſeus* came at the requeſt of *Adraſtus*, and did it by force. *Hind* p. 66. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 127.

20 Ηρακλείδαις πρὸς Αργείους] *viz.* againſt *Euryſtheus*. After the death of *Hercules*, *Euryſtheus* continued his reſentment and expreſſed it to his Children, by commanding *Hyllus* and the reſt, being about 60 in number, as they grew up, to quit *Peloponneſus*. They not being in a capacity to reſiſt him, betook themſelves to *Athens*, where they were harboured and protected. *Euryſtheus* finding them thus ſettled in a body, and carrying it high upon their own deſcent and their Father's merit, invaded *Attica*, with a deſign to extirpate them. But he himſelf and his ſons were ſlain. The *Heraclidæ* in their turn invaded *Peloponneſus* ſeveral times, but were obliged to deſiſt, till the third generation; when they ſucceeded in their enterpriſe, and changed the face of affairs in *Peloponneſus*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 37. 58. *Hind* p. 49.

ib. πρὸς Καδμείους] He calls the *Thebans* by this name, becauſe they were yet under Kings of the race of *Cadmus*; Afterwards when their government became Democratical, they are called Θηβαῖοι.

4 ὅ, τε χρόνος βραχὺς διηγήσασθαι] *the time would fail me, is too ſhort to relate.*

ib. ποιητάς τε αὐτῶν] particularly as to the *Theban* war; *Antimachus* in *Platos*'s time is ſaid to have publiſh'd 24 books, only of the Preparations for the ſiege of *Thebes*. *Stan.* V. 1, p. 126. *Æſchylus* the Tragedian in his ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας. *Sophocles* in his Επίγονοι and Αντιγόνη. *Euripides* in his Φοινίσσαι. —— As to the troubles of the *Heraclidæ*, *Euripides* has a Tragedy with that title.

5 ὦ μουσικῇ] *viz.* τέχνῃ or ἐπιστήμῃ, *in poetry.*

6 μεμνύκασιν] It was uſual for Poets to recite their compoſitions at the publick Games of *Greece*. *Arthæol.* V. 1. p. 445.

7 λόγῳ ψιλῷ] *in meer naked proſe.*

ib. πᾶν ἂν δεύτεροι φανοίμεθα] *I ſhould doubtleſs make but a low and mean appearance.*

8 ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἔχει τὴν ἀξίαν] (viz. τιμὴν) *as juſtice hath been done to them* — or *although they merit it* —

10 ἔτι ἐσμεν οὐ ἀμνησίᾳ] not abſolutely ſo; for how then could he pretend to give an account of them? but *in a way of being forgot* for want of being celebrated by ſome eminent Genius.

ib. λάθων ἴσχῃ] i. e.] ἴλαθεν.

11 μοι δοκεῖ — ἐπαινῶντα] N. B. the tranſition from the *Dative* to the *Accuſative*.

ib. ἐπιμνησθῆναι] *to make mention of.*

ib. προμυθούμενον] *exhorting, perſwading.*

14 ᾠχῶντα] (viz. πῶτα.)

14 Πίσους

14 Πέρσας ἀγωμένους τῆς Ασίας] particularly that part of *Asia minor* which was peopled by *Grecian* Colonies, *Æolia*, *Ionia*, *Caria* and *Doris*.

15 ἔχον] *check'd the progress of* —

ib. οἱ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἔκγονοι] alluding to their favorite title Αὐτόχθονες.

17 μεμνημένους] *viz.* ἡμᾶς implyed in the preceding ἡμέτερος.

20 τρίτῳ ἤδη βασιλεῖ] viz. *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*; for *Cyrus* was the founder of the *Persian* Monarchy; —— to him succeeded *Cambyses*; —— and (after a short interval) *Darius*.

ib. ἐλευθεράσας Πέρσας] see *Hind.* p. 237 &c. *Prideaux* Connect. P. 1. B. 2. *Rollin.* V. 2. B. 4. c. 1. who chiefly follow *Xenophon*. But *Plato* seems here principally to regard the account given by *Herodotus*: according to which, *Deioces* was the founder of the *Median* Empire, and reigned 53 years; he was succeeded by *Phaortes* who subdued the *Persians*, and a great part of *Asia*, and died after a reign of 22 years. His son *Cyaxares* divided *Asia* into distinct provinces and governments, and carried his conquests into *Assyria*, but was for a time interrupted in them by an invasion of *Scythians* into *Asia*, and died after a reign of 40 years. His son *Astyages* reigned 35 years, and was dethoned by his grandson *Cyrus*; by whom the Empire of *Asia* was transferred from the *Medes* to his Countrymen the *Persians*. *Herodot.* L. 1. 95—131.

21 φρονήματα] *courage, resolution, goodsense.* —

23 μέχρις Αιγύπτου] according to *Xenophon*'s account, *Ægypt* likewise was render'd tributary to *Cyrus*.

23 ὁ ὃ ἡμᾶς αὐτός] viz. *Cambyses*.

ib. Αιγυπτίους] It is probable that after the death of *Cyrus Amasis* K. of *Ægypt* endeavoured to shake off the *Persian* yoke: but he and his son *Psammenitus* failing in the attempt, all *Ægypt* was reduced under the *Persian* Empire. *Rollin*, V. 2. B. 4. c. 2. &c. *Hind.* p. 249. *Prideaux*, V. 1. p. 235.

24 ὅσαν οἷόν τε ἦν ἐπιοῦσαν] alluding to the terrible destruction, which was made of his men in passing over the deserts of *Libya* by the torrents of sand which overwhelmed them; and to the great distresses which another army of his suffered, for want of provisions, in his expedition against the *Æthiopians*. *Prideaux* ib. p. 239 &c. *Rollin* V. 2. B. 4. c. 2.

21 1 πεζῇ] viz. δυναμει.

ib. μέχρι Σκυθῶν] Against the *Thracians* and *Getæ* he succeeded, but was forced to retreat after an inglorious attempt against *Scythia*, or that Country which lies between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 208. *Hind.* p. 262. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 275 &c. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 3.

2 τῆς

2 τῆς τε θαλάττης κεράτησι καὶ τῶν νήσων] *Prideaux* p. 287-291. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 215. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 1. c. 6. §. 6. The Iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea ſeem 'till this time to have enjoyed each of them the benefit of their own Laws and Government.

3 αἱ γνώμαι δεδελωμέναι ἦσαν] *their very ſouls were ſo much inſlaved* that no one had thoughts of reſiſting —

4 οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ μάχιμα] Beſides thoſe already mentioned, *Darius* ſubdued *India*. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 5.

5 κατεδεδελωμένη ἦν] in an active ſenſe, *had ſubdued* —

6 ἥμαῖς τε καὶ Ἐρετρίας] The *Athenians* did actually joyn with and aſſiſt the *Ionians* in their revolt from the K. of *Perſia*, with twenty ſhips, being induced thereunto by *Artaphernes*'s giving ſhelter to *Hippias* the ſon of *Piſiſtratus*. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 6. *Prideaux* V. 1. p. 283.

ib. Ἐρετρίας] They made themſelves objects of the *Perſians* reſentment by ſending 5 of their ſhips in conjunction with the *Athenians* in their expedition againſt *Sardes*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 212. *Hind* p. 276. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 294.

6 ἀπαστάμβους] *having reſolved to quarrel with us, to find ſomething to accuſe us* ——

ib. Σαρδίσιν] *Sardes* was the metropolis of *Lydia*, and the uſual place of reſidence to the *Perſian* Satrapa. —— The *Ionian* revolters in conjunction with the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* made themſelves maſters of the town; when an *Ionian* ſoldier ſetting fire to one houſe, the reſt being built moſt of cane took fire and were reduced to aſhes, the caſtle only excepted; into which *Artaphernes* had retired with his Garriſon, upon the taking of the town by the revolters. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 6. *Prideaux* V. 1. p. 284.

7 προφασιζόμενοι Σάρδισιν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι] *alledging this as the particular pretext, that we had formed (or rather executed) a deſign againſt* Sardes.

8 πλοίοις καὶ νανσί] the former *tranſport ſhips*, the latter *ſhips of war*.

10 εἰ βούλοιτο τὴν ἑωυτῶ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν] *if he had any thoughts of, or inclination to ſave his head.*

11 οἱ τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς εὐδοκιμωτάτοις ἦσαν] *who were ſome of the moſt conſiderable people among the Grecians of that time for* ——

13 ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέρῃσι] Others ſay that for ſix days the *Perſians* were repulsed with loſs in their attempts to ſtorm the City but that on the 17th it was betrayed into their hands, plundered, and burnt. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 221. *Hind.* p. 292. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7. *Prideaux* V. 1. p. 295.

15 Ἐρετριῆς]

15 Ἐρετριᾶς] *Eretria* was not the principal city of *Eubœa*, but only the next to *Chalcis*: It ſtood upon the *Euripus* on the weſtern ſide of the Iſland, and by the expreſſion ἐκ θαλάττης ἐς θάλατταν, it ſhould ſeem that nearly half of the Iſland was under its Juriſdiction.

17 ἵν' ἔχοιεν] *that they might be able to* ——

19 κατηγάγοντο] *were conducted* viz. *by Hippias*, or ſimply *deſcended* from on ſhipboard into the plain of *Marathon*.

ib. Μαραθῶνα] ten miles diſtant from *Athens*.

ib. ὡς ἑτοιμοτάτην σφίσιν οὖσαν] *viz. χώρον, as being the moſt convenient place*, viz. *for their Cavalry*. — or, it may be the Accuſative abſolute, the ſame with ὡς ἑτοίμου ὄντος πρᾶγματος *as being an eaſy matter to bring* —

21 ζεύξαντες Ἐρετριεῦσιν ἄγειν] With this intent the *Perſians* are ſaid to have come provided with a great number of fetters and chains. *Rollin* V. 3. c. 1.

23 ἀθρόοι πλὴν Λακεδαιμ.] The *Platæans* excepted; for they furniſhed 1000 ſoldiers. The *Athenians* being ſenſible of the diſproportion of their own forces to the *Perſian*, diſpatch'd meſſengers to *Lacedæmon* for their ſpeedy aſſiſtance. The *Lacedæmonians* ſeemed very willing to aſſiſt; but not being permitted to ſtir by their laws till the Full of the Moon, came not into the field till the day after the battle. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 221, 223. *Hind.* p. 292. *Rollin* V. 3. c. 1. §. 7.

24 τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τ' μάχης] q. d. μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ὕστερον τ' μάχης.

22 1 ἀγαπῶντες τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι σωτηρίαν] *being contented with ſaving their lives for the preſent*. — not conſidering the probable conſequences of their Cowardice.

2 ἐν τούτῳ] ſc. χρόνῳ.

4 δι' ὀλίγων] not that the *Athenians* waited to *receive* the enemy; but, ſmall as their numbers were, (viz. 10,000 againſt 100,000 foot and 10,000 horſe,) they gave the onſet. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7.

5 πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἔστησαν τρόπαιον] viz. *firſt of all the Grecians*, who triumphed over the *Perſian* forces.

6 ἔστησαν τρόπαια τῶν Βαρβάρων] The Trophies of the Antients conſiſted chiefly of the armour and ſpoils of the vanquiſhed enemy, hung upon the trunk of a tree and dedicated to ſome of the Gods. Sometimes Pillars of Stone were made uſe of. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 111, 113. At this battle of *Marathon* the *Perſians* thought themſelves ſo ſure of victory, that they had brought marble in order to erect a Trophy there. The *Grecians* took this marble and cauſed a ſtatue to be made of it by *Phidias* in honour of the Goddeſs *Nemeſis*. *Rollin*. V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7.

ib. στησάντοιν τρόπαιον τ' Βαρβάρων] *viz.* λίθου or τῷ τ' Βαρβ.

8 ἀπὸ πάν] i. e. ἀπ' ὄπ πάν.

11 ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἠπείρῳ (viz. γῇ) in contradiſtinction to *Aſia*.

12 ἔργον] *that action, that atchievement* ——

ib. τὰς ὑστέρας μάχας] viz. τὴν τῶν &c.

13 ἐτόλμησαν] *had the courage, the reſolution, to* —

14 μαθηταὶ τῶν Μαραθῶνι] viz. Δημοκινδυνευσάντων.

ib. ἀριστεῖα τοῦ λόγου ἀναθετέον] *The rewards of the firſt and principal honours therefore I am in this Oration to diſtribute to* ——

15 τοῖς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ] Of the two fights here referred to, that at *Artemiſium* happened firſt. *Artemiſium* was a promontory in the north part of *Eubœa*. The *Perſians* had deſigned to ſurpriſe the *Grecian* fleet in the ſtreights of *Eubœa* with a ſquadron of theirs; but by the advice of *Themiſtocles*, the *Grecians* ſet ſail in the night, and by a counterſurpriſe fell in with them, took and ſunk 30 ſhips and forced the reſt to ſea; where by ſtreſs of weather they were all ſunk or ſtranded. The next day the *Perſians* bore down with the remaining part of their fleet upon that of the *Grecians*, which by the ſingular valour of the *Athenians* maintained the conflict, but was ſo ſhatter'd in the engagement, as to be forced to quit this ſtation in order to refit. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 242. *Hind.* p. 313. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 6.

16 περὶ Σαλαμῖνα] After the foregoing engagement the *Perſians* coming up with their fleet invaded *Eubœa* and the neighbouring Coaſts. *Xerxes* at the ſame time marched thro' *Doris* and *Phocis* to *Bœotia* ravaging all before him. The *Grecian* confederates ſtill continued upon the retreat, and the *Athenians* found themſelves obliged to tranſport their wives and children and moſt valuable effects to *Trœzene*, *Ægina* and *Salamis*; at the latter of which places (being a little iſland over againſt and near *Attica*) was the rendezvous of the *Grecian* fleet. Here *Themiſtocles* partly by bullying the reſt of the *Grecian* Commanders, and partly by ſtratagem, induced them to hazard an engagement with a much ſuperior force of the *Perſians*, and defeated them. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 248. *Hind.* p. 321. *Rollin* V. 3. c. 2. §. 8.

18 οἷα ἐπίοντα ὑπέμειναν] *what a ſeries of dangers and difficulties, attacking them one after another, they ſuſtained* ——

20 τὸ ἐξῆς ἔργον τοῖς Μαραθῶνι διεπεράίωσαν] *ſeconded the blow that given by our Countrymen at* Marathon.

ib. ὅτι τὸ ἐξῆς ἔργον &c.] *viz.* τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σωτηρίας *as p.* 23. *l.* 10.

21 οἱ Μαραθῶνι] *i. e.* οἱ ἐπὶ Μαραθῶνι μαχησάμενοι.

24 πλήθη] ſee *Lyſias* p. 45. l. 7.

23 2 τὸν ἐχόμενον φόβον] *the fear which poſſeſſed them*: or, *which was near them*; or, *the fear which was connected with and aroſe from* what is above mentioned, πλήθη δὲ πλάτη &c.

23 9 τὸ ὃν Πλαταιαῖς ἔργον] After *Xerxes*'s retreat out of *Greece*, *Mardonius* ſtayed behind and wintered in *Theſſaly*. In the ſpring he offered very advantageous terms of peace to the *Athenians*; which being rejected with diſdain, he enter'd *Attica* with fire and ſword; whereupon the *Athenians* a ſecond time deſerted their city, and retired to *Salamis*. The joint forces of *Greece* being now on their march towards him from *Peloponneſus*, he retreated into the plain-country of *Bœotia*, in order to put himſelf into a better poſture of defence. The *Grecian* army was 120,000, under *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; The *Perſians* were 350,000, or, as others, 500,000. Theſe latter attacked the *Lacedæmonian* part of the army at a diſadvantage, near the city of *Platæa*, but were repulſed with vigour and forced into their intrenchments; when the *Athenians* coming up rendered the victory compleat. The very ſame day the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* gave an entire defeat to another large army of *Perſians* near *Mycale*, a promontory of *Ionia*, and burnt their ſhipping. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 255—266. *Hind.* p.353 &c. *Prideaux* P.1. B.4 p.340. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2.

ib. ἔργον — τὴ Ἑλληνικὴς πατηρίας] viz. ὑπὲρ —

11 τὸ μέγιστον τῆ χαλεπότητι (viz. παρῆγμα) οὗτοι πάντες ἤμυναν] *Theſe then, all of them warded off the greateſt difficulty*, namely, *the danger with which the* Perſians *threatened us* —

13 ὑπὸ τὸ ὕστερον] (viz. ἐστρέψαν ἐγκαμιακοδόσαντα.)

14 πολλαὶ μὲ πόλεις] The foregoing defeats of the *Perſians* were followed by the revolt of all *Ionia*; which entering into a confederacy with the *Grecians*, by their help, maintained its liberty for the moſt part ever after, during the continuance of that empire. Beſides this, the *Grecians* equipped a ſtrong fleet, of which *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian* and *Ariſtides* the *Athenian* had the command; they ſailed firſt to *Cyprus*, and the next year to the *Helleſpont* and other places, and freed many cities from the *Perſian* garriſons, and reſtored them to their liberty (*Prideaux* B.4. p.348,352. *Rollin* V. 3. c. 2. §. 14.) But this giving liberty to the *Grecian* cities was chiefly effected by *Cimon* three years afterwards, who reduced ſeveral iſlands upon the coaſt of *Thrace*; and the next year after, ſailing from *Athens* with a fleet of 200 ſail, and augmenting it with 100 more from the *Aſiatick* Allies, drove the *Perſians* out of *Caria* and *Lycia*, deſtroyed their fleet in the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, and the very ſame day landing his forces overthrew, and gained a compleat victory over their land army; He ſoon after ſurpriſed and deſtroyed 80 *Phœnician* ſhips which were coming to join the *Perſian* fleet. And the next year reduced the *Thracian* Cherſoneſus

23 with several of the Isles adjacent. *Prideaux* B. 4. p. 358. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 3. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 265 and 289.

15 διανοεῖσθαι ὡς ἐπιχειρήσων] *to be meditating a design of invading* ——

20 ὅι τε ἐπ' Ευρυμέδοντι &c.] the sea fight at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia* happened 7 years after one of their expeditions to *Cyprus*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 272, and 290. *Hind.* p. 346, and 367. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 348, 356.

20 οἱ εἰς Κύπρον στρατεύσαντες καὶ οἱ εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλεύσαντες] *Cyprus* was an island lying in the streights between *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*. As the possession of it would on all occasions be a curb to the *Persian*, the *Athenians* sent thither a fleet of 200 sail; and in order to secure to themselves a greater command in those parts, joined their forces with *Inarus* K. of *Lybia*, to support the *Egyptians* in their revolt from the *Persian*. Upon first landing in *Egypt* the *Athenians* routed the *Persians* and pursued them to *Memphis*, took two parts of the city, and blocked up the third. But after a siege of near three years they were obliged to desist, were themselves with their shipping blocked up in the *Nile*, and after great losses with difficulty retired home, having spent near six years in this fruitless expedition. *Prideaux* V. 2. B. 5. p. 371, 442. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 310. *Hind.* p. 377.

22 χάριν αὐτοῖς ἀδύναι ὅτι] *to retain and express a grateful sense of their services, in that they* ——

24 ἀλλὰ μὴ &c.] Accordingly, after the conquests of *Cimon*, *Xerxes* gave over all thoughts of the *Grecian* war; nor were any more of his ships seen in the *Ægean* sea, nor any of his forces on the coasts adjoining to it, all the remainder of his reign. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 359.

24 1 διηντλήθη] Virg. Æn. 4.

Quæ bella exhausta canebat.

ib. πόσῃ τῇ πόλει] The city being obliged to exert her *whole* force in the *Persian* war.

2 ὁμοφώνων] *Æolis* in *Asia minor* was inhabited by a colony of *Dorians* of *Laconia* after their expulsion out of *Peloponnesus* by the *Heraclidæ*; as was a great part of *Lesbos*. — *Ionia* by a colony of *Ionians*, who being likewise expelled *Peloponnesus* returned to *Athens* their original country, and in conjunction with other *Athenians* under *Nileus* and *Androcles* sons of *Codrus*, seized upon that part of the coast of *Asia minor* which lies between *Caria* and *Lydia*. Other *Dorians* settled, some of them in *Crete*, but a much larger number in that part of *Asia minor*, which was from them called *Doris*, and in the adjacent islands of *Rhodus*, *Cos*, &c. *Rollin* V. 2. B. 5. Art. 5. Tho' there was a difference in the language of the inhabitants of these several districts of *Asia minor* and the Islands,

24 as alſo between thoſe of proper *Greece*, yet as they were all derived from and grounded upon the ſame original tongue, it proved a mighty cement to unite them in one common intereſt, as it ſuggeſted that they were all related to each other in their origin.

3 ὃ δὴ φιλᾶ — τοῖς ὑπερέπιπλον] *what uſually happens to perſons in proſperity.*

6 ἀρξάντων μὲν ζῆλος &c.] Soon after the victories gained over the *Perſians* at *Platæa* and *Mycale*, *Pauſanias*, the chief commander of the *Lacedæmonian* forces, by his haughtineſs gave the *Grecian* confederates ſuch ill impreſſions of the *Lacedæmonian* dominion, that they all, except the *Peloponneſians*, put themſelves under the protection of the *Athenians*, and gave them liberty to rate all the cities in ſuch proportion of ſhips and money, as they thought neceſſary for the ſupport of the war. This transferring of the command of *Greece* occaſioned no ſmall jealouſy in the *Lacedæmonians*, and laid the foundation of ſuch diſcontent and afterwards broke out into an open rupture; particularly on occaſion of the *Lacedæmonians* diſmiſſing in a fit of jealouſy a body of *Athenians* from their ſervice, whom they had ſent for to aſſiſt them in quelling an inſurrection of their ſlaves, as *Thucydides* relates B. 2. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 272 &c. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 14.

9 συνέβαλον δὲ Τανάγρᾳ] q. d. ἡμίσεσι πολίτῃ (implied in τὴν πόλιν l. 8.) συνέβαλον (μάχην.) The quarrel which occaſioned this engagement, lay between the *Phocians* and the *Dorians*; to the aſſiſtance of which latter, the *Lacedæmonians*, as being originally deſcended from them, ſent 11500 men. Theſe forces ſoon brought the *Phocians* to terms: but ſtaying in *Bœotia* were attacked about *Tanagra* a city not far diſtant from *Thebes*, by the *Athenians*; the ſlaughter on both ſides was conſiderable, and the victory turned in favour of the *Lacedæmonians*. About two months after this defeat, the *Athenians* marched into *Bœotia* under *Myronides*, and intirely routed the inhabitants with thoſe *Lacedæmonian* forces, which were left, at a place called *Oenophyta*, or the Vineyards, took *Tanagra* by ſtorm and demoliſhed it and overran the greateſt part of *Bœotia*, *Phocis* and *Locris Opuntia*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 302, &c. *Hind.* p. 381.

ib. ὑπὲρ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας] The *Thebans*, who had for ſome time been under diſgrace, upon account of their joining with *Xerxes* in the *Perſian* war, and now found themſelves deſpiſed and their authority diſowned by the reſt of the *Bœotians*, deſired the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians* to reduce all *Bœotia* under the Dominion of *Thebes*: promiſing them that, if they would aſſiſt them in that deſire, they would maintain the war againſt the *Athenians* at their own charge.

The

24 The *Lacedæmonians*, by the forces which they then had at *Tanagra*, enlarged the extent of the city of *Thebes*, and forced the other cities of *Bœotia* to ſubmit to her authority. This occaſioned the *Athenians* to march out and engage the *Lacedæmonians* at *Oenophyta*. *Hind.* p. 382. — *Thucydides* gives another reaſon why the *Athenians* attacked the *Lacedæmonian* forces at *Tanagra*, viz. their having a deſign to ſecond and ſupport the attempts of ſome of their own citizens to ſubvert the *Democracy*, B. 2.

11 διέκρινε τὸ ὕστερον ἔργον] ſee not. l. 9.

ib. οἱ μὲ ἄλλοι ἀπιόντες &c.] This is agreeable to what *Thucydides* ſays, that the *Lacedæmonians* (I ſuppoſe the main part of them) went home after the battle at *Tanagra*.

12 Βοιωτὸς οἷς ἦν] viz. the *Thebans* and their Party; for the *Athenians* likewiſe engaged ὑπὲρ Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας.

13 τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ] *Diodorus Siculus*, who is very particular in his account of this expedition, has nothing which correſponds to this expreſſion; *Thucydides* ſays that the *Athenians* ſet out upon this expedition δευτέρᾳ καὶ ἑξηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ after the battle *at Tanagra*.

ib. τὰς ἀδίκως φυγόντας] *thoſe that had been injuriouſly forced to fly their Country*, in order to eſcape the tyranny of the *Thebans*.

14 ἀεῖποτε] N. B. the repetition of this word l. 18.

16 ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γεγόμενοι] *Diodorus Siculus* ſpeaks of this action at *Tanagra* as little, if at all, inferior to thoſe at *Marathon* and *Platea*.

18 πολλῷ πολέμῳ γεγομένῳ] *a great a general war ariſing* — for the firſt grounds of the *Peloponneſian* war here referred to, ſee *Stan.* V. 1. p. 320, 326, *Hind.* p. 400, &c. 405, 411. *Rollin.* V. 3. B. 7 c. 1. §. 13, 14.

19 πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπισπασαμένων] The *Lacedæmonians* had ſecured almoſt all *Peloponneſus* on their ſide, at the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* war; together with the *Megareans*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians* and *Anactorians*: On the *Athenian* ſide were the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Platæans*, *Meſſenians* inhabiting *Naupactus*, *Acarnanians*, *Corcyræans* and *Zacynthians*; beſides great part of the *Aſiatick Grecians* on the ſea coaſt, ſeveral towns of *Thrace*, with moſt of the leſſer Iſlands, and tributary cities in general. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 333. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 3. §. 11.

20 πεμόντων τὴν χώραν] for the *Athenians* not being able to face the *Lacedæmonians* with their land forces, by the advice of *Pericles* brought into *Athens* all their families and effects out of the country, together with the very timber of their houſes, which they pulled down; and conveyed away their cattle into *Eubœa* and the neighbouring iſles. So that the forces of the

24 the *Lacedæmonians* could make no other havock in the country but τέμνειν τὴν χώραν *cutting down the trees, corn,* &c. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 3. §. 1. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 385.

ib. ἀναξίαν χάριν ἀπιόντων] *making a very ungrateful return to* ——

21 ναυμαχίαι] The *Athenians* having at the commencement of the war a fleet of 300 Gallies, by *Pericles*'s advice they placed their main confidence in exerting their maritime force, and with part of it layed waste the territories of *Laconia*, and with the rest overawed the allies on whom contributions were levied. *Rollin* V. 3. p. 344.

ib. νικήσαντες αὐτὰς &c.] The action here hinted at was one of the most signal of all the *Peloponnesian* war, tho' the number of *Lacedæmonians* (being only 420) immediately concerned in it was but small: it happened in the 7th year of the war; when upon the *Lacedæmonians* endeavouring to dispossess the *Athenians* of *Pylus*, a naval engagement was fought, in which the *Athenians* were victorious and enclosed a select body of *Lacedæmonians*, who had thrown themselves into *Sphacteria*, and reduced those, who survived the several skirmishes, (being 292) to the extremity of surrendring prisoners at discretion, and carried them to *Athens*. *Rollin* V. 3. p. 384. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 367.

23 ἐν τῇ Σφαγίᾳ] *Sphagia* was another name of the island *Sphacteria*, as we are informed by *Strabo* B. 8. For want of attending to this, the passage hath been usually translated as if the words had been ἐν τῇ σφαγῇ *in hâc clade*.

24 εἰρήνην ἐπιήσαντο] The *Lacedæmonians* sued to the *Athenians* for peace, when first their countrymen were blocked up in the island *Sphacteria*, upon their finding themselves unable to relieve them: But the *Athenians* being very insolent in their demands, the *Lacedæmonians* chose to continue the war, and in two years got so much advantage, that the *Athenians* grew more moderate, and came to terms of peace for 50 years, the chief Articles being that "the Garrisons should be evacuated, and the Towns and Prisoners restored on both sides." During all this while the *Lacedæmonian* prisoners taken in *Sphacteria* had remained prisoners at *Athens*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 365—382.

24 ἡγεμόνι ὡσὶ μὲν τὸ ὁμόφυλον &c.] *Cic. de Offic.* L. 1. Ea bella, quibus imperii gloria proposita est, minus acerbè gerenda sunt. Ut enim cum cive aliter contendimus, si est inimicus, aliter, si est competitor: cum altero certamen honoris et dignitatis est: cum altero capitis et famæ. Sic cum Celtiberis, cum Cimbris bellum, ut cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret &c. *Sall. B. Jug.* cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloriâ certare.

25 1 μὴ δ' ἀρχὴν ἰδίαν τῆς πόλεως] This was remarkably the disposition of the *Athenians*, when *Themistocles* had formed a scheme to supplant the *Lacedæmonians* and burn the fleet belonging to the rest of the *Grecian* States; which motion was quashed upon the representation of *Aristides*, *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. And afterwards when *Ephialtes* advised tham to take an advantage of the distress into which the *Lacedæmonians* were thrown by the terrible Earthquake which layed waste most of the cities of *Laconia*, and by the insurrection of their slaves, *Cimon* supported the interest of *Lacedæmon*, and procured himself to be sent to its succour with 4000 men. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 8.

2 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων διολωσαι] *weaken, and so in effect destroy the common interest of the Grecians.*

5 ὅτι ἐπίδειξαν, εἴπις] *Because they shewed, that if any one should dispute the matter and insist, that in the former war against the* Barbarians *some other people were braver men than the* Athenians, *they would insist upon what was not true.* N. the the transition from the singular number. l. 5. to the plural l. 7.

8 στασιάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος] *when Greece became divided within itself.*

11 σύμπαν κοινῇ] viz. νίκη or δυνάμει.

12 Τρίτος δὲ πόλεμος] He is speaking of the wars which the *Athenians* had with the other *Grecians*. The first whereof was between them and the *Lacedæmonians* and *Bœotians*, mentioned p. 24. l. 8; The *Peloponnesian* war p. 24. l. 18. is the second; the *Sicilian* (tho' it is usually reckoned a part of the *Peloponnesian*) the third.

13 ἀνέλπιστός τε καὶ δεινὸς] *terrible in it's consequences and contrary to all our hopes and expectations*, the *Athenians* losing in it their best Generals, Fleets aad Armies; which losses drew after them the ruin of *Athens* itself. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 423. And this seems the most obvious and true reason why this expression is here used; tho' by an Oratorical turn another is assigned l. 23.

14 τελευτήσαντες σὺν ἁπάσῃ κάπτᾳ] tho' they died in *Sicily*, yet the bodies of the dead might be, as they usually were, reduced to ashes, in order to be conveyed to their Relations and interred at home; or at least a Cenotaphium might be erected for them. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 102.

25 ὑπὲρ τῶν Λεοντίνων] The quarrel in *Sicily* between *Syracuse* and *Leontium* began about 5 years before the peace concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*. Those cities formed their confederacies in order to carry on a vigorous war: And the *Leontines* on pretence of consanguinity (being originally of *Chalcis*, an *Athenian* colony) and antient alliances

25 alliances, drew over the *Athenians* to their party. And the *Athenians* were glad to have a footing in the iſland upon any terms, both to hinder the tranſporting of corn from thence to *Peloponneſus*, and to try if there were any poſſibility of ſubduing it for themſelves. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 362. After the expedition againſt *Melos* they engaged in the war in earneſt. *Nicias* the chief commander carried the victory in ſome actions againſt the *Syracuſians*, and gained ground in the iſland, and was upon the point of carrying the city itſelf by ſiege; but *Gylippus* arriving with ſuccours from *Lacedæmon*, a ſurpriſing turn was given to the affair; and by repeated loſſes in ſeveral engagements the *Athenians* were forced to raiſe the ſiege, with the loſs of all their ſhipping; and all the ſurviving ſoldiers being obliged to ſurrender Priſoners at diſcretion, were uſed with great hardſhips, and at length ſold for ſlaves. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 399—423. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 8. c. 1. §. 5. &c.

18 ἃ δυναμένης αὐτοῖς ὑπηρετεῖν] tho' the *Athenians* did ſend ſupplies according to the requeſt of *Nicias*, yet they unfortunately came too late, *Nicias* himſelf having been defeated the day before, as the ſupplies were the day after. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 412.

19 ὧν οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c.] ἔπαινον ἔχουσι for ἐπαινοῦσι. *Whoſe moderation and courage our very enemies are more ready to praiſe, than other people are apt to do that of their friends.* This ſentence is much embaraſſed: the literal and common verſion *quorum hoſtes —— majorem temperantiæ virtutiſque laudem, quàm amici aliorum habent* is not intelligible in the laſt part; and the former part is contrary to *Thucydides*'s account, who repreſents the behaviour of the *Athenian*'s Enemies on this occaſion to have been exceſſively inſolent and cruel B. 8. — Or it may be, ὧν (viz. δι' ὧν) οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c. *by which misfortune* our *enemies gained* (unjuſtly) *a greater reputation for their moderation and courage, that the friends of the other party*, i. e. than We, who out of a generous principle of friendſhip engaged in their defence.

21 ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ταῖς κατ' Ελλήσποντον, μιᾷ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ &c.] The great loſſes which the *Athenians* ſuſtained in the *Sicilian* war, were followed by the revolt of ſeveral places towards the *Helleſpont*. The *Athenians* for the recovery thereof ſent out as good a fleet as they could equip; which under the command of *Thraſylus* and *Thraſybulus*, fell in with *Mindarus* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, and defeated him at *Cynos Sema:* and not long after they gave the *Lacedæmonians* a ſecond defeat near *Abydus*, whereby they not only recovered their

their own Gallies, but took thirty belonging to the Enemy. But the moſt deciſive blow was ſtruck by *Alcibiades* before the port of *Cyzicus*, whereby the *Athenians* took all the enemies ſhips, ſecured to themſelves the *Helleſpont*, and drove the *Lacedæmonians* out of all the other ſeas. *Scun.* V. 1. p. 425—431.

22 πώσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἑλόντες ναῦς, πολλὰς ἢ τὸ ἄλλως νικήσαντες.] *making themſelves maſters of all the ſhips*, which the enemy had remaining, *having before that time taken and deſtroyed many more.*

26 1 τὸ ἐς τοσοῦτον &c.] The defeat of the *Athenians* in *Sicily* was followed by a general defection of their old Allies, and a confederacy of the other *Grecians* againſt them, having the *Lacedæmonians* at their head: and a league was concluded between the King of *Perſia* and the *Lacedæmonians*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 424. This good underſtanding was afterwards improved by the negotiations of *Lyſander*, (ſee alſo p. 436.) who taking advantage of *Alcibiades*'s abſence from the *Athenian* navy gained an intire victory and took 15 *Athenian* Gallies. Upon which *Alcibiades* fell into diſgrace, and was ſucceeded in his command by ten Generals, (the principal whereof was *Conon.*) *Lyſander* was ſucceeded by *Callicratidas*; who purſued *Conon* into the port of *Mitylene* with 170 Sail, took 30 of his ſhips, and beſieged him in the town, from which he cut off all proviſions; He ſoon after took ten more out of twelve, which were coming to his relief. Then hearing that the *Athenians* had fitted out their whole ſtrength, conſiſting of 150 ſail, he left 50 of the ſhips to carry on the ſiege of *Mitylene*, and with 120 met the *Athenians* near the *Arginuſæ* (Iſlands) over-againſt *Lesbos*. After a long and obſtinate fight, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral was ſunk, and the reſt fled: The *Peloponneſians* loſt about 70 ſail, and the *Athenians* 25, with moſt of the men in them. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 436, &c. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 35.

2 ὥστε τολμῆσαι ἐχθίστῳ ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι] *ſo as, in defiance of every thing that is virtuous, to ſend an Embaſſy to negotiate an alliance with our moſt inveterate enemy.*

οἰομένων γὰρ] viz. τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων p. 26. l. 2.

11 ἀναξίᾳ τύχῃ οὐκ ἀναιρεθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης] After the fight at *Arginuſæ* the *Athenian* Admirals, who had the joint command of the fleet, were accuſed of ſuffering their men, who were ſhipwrecked, to be loſt, when they might have ſaved them: and eight of the ten were condemned, and ſix of them put to death. *Socrates*, into whoſe mouth *Plato* has put this expreſſion, was utterly againſt this uſage of the Admirals: and indeed the *Athenians* themſelves afterwards repented

26 pented of what they had done. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 38, &c. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 438.

12 κεῖνται σὺν δὲ] Qu. how could that be, if they were σὺν ἀναιρεθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης? either their carcaſes might be taken up afterwards — or their having a Cenotaphium erected for them might anſwer the ſuppoſed purpoſe of giving reſt to their departed ſhades. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 225. to clear the difficulty *Weſſelingus*, by conjecture, inſerts the particle ὲ before κεῖνται.

16 ἡ καλὴ ἥδε δόξις] *and ſuch ſentiments were well founded.*

17 τῇ δὲ ἡμετέρᾳ αὐτῶν διαφορᾷ ἐκράτησαν] referring to thoſe advantages which the *Lacedæmonians* and their confederates made of the civil diſſenſions of the *Athenians*. *Theuc.* L. 8. c. 95.

19 ἡμεῖς δὲ αὖτοὶ &c.] The *Athenian* fleet ſent out againſt *Lyſander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, conſiſted of 180 ſail, and ſeveral times offered him battle, which *Lyſander* as oft declined; but he afterwards watched his opportunity of beginning his attack when the men were landed, and in the confuſion made himſelf maſter of the whole Fleet and took 3000 Priſoners. This was followed by the ſiege of *Athens*, whereby the *Athenians* being reduced to the laſt extremity were forced to ſubmit to the hard conditions offered by the *Lacedæmonians*; namely, to relinquiſh their fortreſſes; to demoliſh their walls; to deliver up all their ſhips but 12; to reſtore their Exiles; to enter into a league offenſive and defenſive with the *Lacedæmonians*, and to ſerve them in all their expeditions by ſea and land. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 440, &c. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 51, &c.

22 ἔπερ ἐμοιρεμένον ἦν] *if it ſhould be the fate.*

21 ὁ οἰκεῖος ἡμῖν πόλεμος &c.] After the ſurrender of *Athens*, *Lyſander* quite altered the *Athenian* conſtitution and erected a Government commonly known by the name of the *Thirty Tyrants*, who having a guard aſſigned them from *Lacedæmon*, acted without controul in all kinds of violence and oppreſſion: but this not ſeeming ſufficient for their ſecurity, they imparted ſome ſhare of their Authority to 3000 Citizens, and by their means diſarmed the reſt. This ill uſage occaſioned multitudes to leave the city and live in exile in different parts of *Greece*. *Thraſybulus* at the head of a ſmall party began the oppoſition by ſeizing upon *Phyle*, a ſtrong caſtle on the frontiers of *Attica*; His numbers ſoon encreaſed; and ſome ſkirmiſhes he made with ſucceſs. The *Thirty* being alarmed thereby, fortified *Eleuſis* to ſerve them upon any ſudden exigency, as a place of retreat; and to free themſelves from any jealouſy the inhabitants thereof might give them, they cauſed all that were able to bear arms, to paſs

26 One by One, as it were to compute the ſtrength of the garriſon, and murdered them. —— *Thraſybulus* after this finding his numbers ſtill encreaſing, ſeized on the *Piræus*, and defeated the 30 who attempted to drive Him from thence. A truce enſuing *Thraſybulus* expoſtulated with his oppoſers in ſo pathetical a manner, that the 3000 depoſed the *Thirty*, and inveſted *Ten* men, one out of each tribe, with the adminiſtration: — theſe purſued the ſame meaſures of injuſtice and oppreſſion, and joining counſels with the *Thirty* who had retired to *Eleuſis*, determined the utter deſtruction of thoſe in the *Piræus*; and in this ſcheme they were ſupported and aided by the *Lacedæmonians*. The *Athenians* in the *Piræus* were routed: and at length, at the inſtances of *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian* General, a peace between thoſe in the city and thoſe in the *Piræus* was eſtabliſhed on condition that every man ſhould return home except the *Thirty*, and οἱ Ενδεκα, and the *Ten* more who had commanded in the *Piræus*, and if any of the City apprehended themſelves to be obnoxious, they might be free to retire with them to *Eleuſis:* After which the Democracy was reſtored. —— But the Faction at *Eleuſis* ſtill continuing to make freſh attempts againſt the city and that by means of foreign troops, the whole city went out againſt them, and having taken off their commanders, the reſt were eaſily brought to an accommodation; and a general Amneſty was paſſed, whereby every man obliged himſelf by oath to bury what was paſſed in oblivion; which being religiouſly obſerved, the city was reſtored to its former tranquillity, and its members were again united into one body. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 2—21. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 66, &c.

23 νοσῆσαι] Factions and Seditions are the *diſeaſes* of the body Politick.

24 ὡς ἀσμένως τε οἰκάδως] *with the greateſt readineſs and friendlineſs came to a reconciliation with each other, and were again united into one body.* ſee the pathetical ſpeech of *Thraſybulus*, which occaſioned this reconciliation. *Xenoph.* L. 2. *ad finem.*

27 1 παρ' ἐλπίδα] (*viz.* ἐλπιζομένην) τοῖς ἄλλοις — *contrary to the expectations of, or what was hoped for by the other* ——

5 τελευτησάντων ὑπ' ἀλλήλων] It has been obſerved that this ſedition proved more fatal to the *Athenian* ſtate than the War: there were 1400 citizens put to death without hearing, and thoſe chiefly men of note and condition; and on the whole, as many more lives were conſumed in this eight month's fury, as in the *Peloponneſian* War of ten years. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 22.

27 7 ἀμείλικτον ἐυχαῖς τὴ θυσίαις] Men were thought to retain the ſame affections after death, which they had entertained while alive. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 240. and theſe honours of prayers and ſacrifices, being offered by the friends of the deceaſed, were thought very acceptable to departed ſouls, and might therefore anſwer the purpoſe here mentioned of reconciling them to each other. Concerning the ſacrifices and oblations offered upon this occaſion, ſee *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 235.

ib. ἀμείλικτον αὐτὸς &c.] *do our utmoſt to bring them to a reconciliation, praying and ſacrificing upon theſe occaſions to thoſe Powers, which have the command and direction over them; inaſmuch as we ourſelves are reconciled.* Platonis ſententia eſt animis in vitalem hanc prodeuntibus lucem contribui Dæmonem, qui ſit actionem inſpector omnium, & cogitationum quoque diligens explorator; quique corporeo exolutis nexu aſſiſtat ſemper &c. *Cæl. Rhodigin.* Lect. Antiq. L. 2. c. 10.

9 ὃ γὰ κακία &c.] *Cic. pro Marcello.* Omnes enim qui ad illa arma fato ſumus neſcio quo Reipub. miſero funeſtoque compulſi.

9 ἀλλήλων ἥψαντο] *uſed ſuch violence towards each other.*

11 συγγνώμην ἔχομεν] uſed in a double ſenſe, *are excuſed for what we did; excuſe others* παρέχομεν συγγν. *for what we ſuffered.*

13 παντελῆς ἡσυχίης] *Athens* for ſome time continued very quiet with its neighbours, endeavouring to recover itſelf from its late confuſions in the government at home. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 54.

15 οὐκ εὐδενῶς ἠμύναντο] *made no inconſiderable or poor defence.*

18 πάς τε νεὼς κατεσκευάσμεθα] viz. by the terms of the Peace which *Lyſander* gave the *Athenians.*

ib. πρὸ τ'] viz. the fight at *Salamis.*

19 ἀνθ' ὧν] namely, by leaving their city a ſecond time to be ravaged by *Mardonius*, when they might have made very advantageous terms for themſelves, by giving up the *Peloponneſians. Stan.* V. 1. 255.

22 οὕτως ᾤκει.] *formed its domeſtick adminiſtrations agreeably to that principle.* the particle οὕτω ſeems to bear an emphatical reference to what went before, ſo *Job.* 4. 6. ſedit *ita ut* — *vel idcirco quia* — laſſus erat.

24 σφίσιν ἦν ἤδη ἔργον ἄνω] *that now was the proper time of executing their ſcheme of inſlaving others.*

28 1 ταῦτ' ἐπρασσον] *exerted themſelves in the execution of this ſcheme.*

2 οὐδὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων] *viz.* Δῆλ in the ſame ſenſe as when uſed with πολλῶν χρόνων, or πολλῷ χρόνῳ.

4 ἀφίκοντο ἐς χρείαν τ πόλεως] *came to crave the aſſiſtance of our city.* The truth was, that the K. of *Perſia*, being alarmed by the formidable preparations of the *Lacedæmonians* againſt him

28 him under ſo able a commander as *Ageſilaus*, practiſed with the leading men of the principal cities of *Greece* to take advantage of their diſaffection to the abſolute and tyrannical government of the *Lacedæmonians*, and to make a diverſion at home. The *Thebans* firſt came into the ſcheme; and after them the *Argives* and *Corinthians* with their dependents. The *Athenians* though they took no ſhare of the *Perſian* money were eaſily brought to engage in a rupture of this kind. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 70.

5 Ἑλλήνων οἱ πρῶτοι, Ἀργεῖοι] The *Argives* as we are informed by *Diod. Sic.* challenged to themſelves a precedency among the States of *Greece*, on account of the great Antiquity and Wealth of their ſtate.

ib. τὸ θειότατον] *what was very extraordinary and ſurprizing.*

6 ἐς τοῦτο ἀπορίας ἀφικέσθαι] *was reduced to ſuch ſtraits and difficulties*, namely, by the great ſucceſſes of *Ageſilaus* in *Aſia*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 53, &c.

ib. ὥστε περιεῖναι αὐτῷ] viz. τὰ πράγματα αὐτῷ *ſo that his affairs received ſuch an unexpected turn, that* — *Thucyd.* more fully l. 1. p. 78, πλέω, ἃ κωλῶς δοκοῦντα βουλεύσηται, ἐς τοὐναντίον αἰσχρῶς περίεσται.

11 τοῦ ἥττονος θεραπής] *the guardian and protector of the helpleſs* ——

ib. καὶ δὴ τῆ &c.] *And accordingly at that time*, a juncture of ſuch imminent danger to the liberty of *Greece*, *it was unable to harden itſelf any longer* in its determination ——

15 αὖτη βοηθήσασα] *Athens* yet awhile acted only as an auxiliary, ſee l. 21.

16 μέχρις ἧ] viz. by the peace of *Antalcidas*.

19 φυγάδας] *Conon* ever ſince his defeat at *Ægoſpotamos* had lived in voluntary exile; and during that time made it his buſineſs to ingratiate himſelf with the *Perſians*, in hopes, by them, to gain an opportunity of retrieving the misfortunes of his country. And it was chiefly by his advice that the confederacy againſt the *Lacedæmonians* was ſpirited up. But the moſt ſignal ſervice which he did his country, was by obtaining a joint command of the *Perſian* fleet together with *Pharnabazus*, and thereby defeating the *Lacedæmonians* near *Cnidus*. *Conon* followed this blow by making a deſcent upon the maritime towns of *Laconia*, and ravaging the country. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 67——81.

19 ὁμολογεμένως ἔσωσι] agreeably hereunto *Nepos*, obſerves in his life of *Conon*, *neque vero non fuit apertum, ſi ille non fuiſſet, Ageſilaum Aſiam Tauro tenus Regi fuiſſe erepturum.*

ib. τειχισαμένη καὶ ναυπηγησαμένη] after the forementioned atchievements *Conon* ſailed home, and, with the money, which he

28 he had procured from the *Persian* court, repaired the fortifications and rebuilt the walls of *Athens*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 81.

20 ἐκδεξαμένη τὸ πόλεμον] *expecting to be attacked*——

21 πολεμεῖν] *to declare war as a principal*; which the *Athenians* do not seem to have done, till the sending out *Thrasybulus* to secure the islands of the *Ægean* sea in the interest of the *Athenians*; which had thrown off the *Lacedæmonian* yoke immediately after *Conon*'s victory at *Cnidus*; from which time both *Diodorus Siculus* and *Xenophon* date the fall of the *Lacedæmonian* empire at sea. The expedition of *Thrasybulus* was about three years afterwards.

ib. ὑπὲρ Πασῶν] *Parus* was an Island in the *Ægean* sea, one of those called *Cyclades*; and was more considerable for its wealth and power than for its extent. What was the particular case of the *Parians* here referred to, is not said either by *Diodorus Sic.* or *Xenophon.* This island, tho' immediately after the retreat of *Darius* it baffled the attack of *Miltiades*, yet afterwards became dependent upon *Athens*, and had its polity regulated upon the *Athenian* plan; which, after *Lysander*'s victory, gave place to that of *Lacedæmon. Conon*, as has been already observed, after his victory at *Cnidus* went round the isles of the *Ægean* sea and expelled from thence the *Lacedæmonian* Governours; which an *Athenian* might well call engaging *in their defence* ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. This passage more probably referrs to something which gave immediate occasion either to the expedition of *Thrasybulus*, or *Chabrias*; the latter of which is said to have gained a signal victory over the *Lacædemonian* fleet between the islands *Naxus* and *Parus*. *Diod. Sic.* L. 15. and *Xenoph.* Ελλη. L. 5.

24 ἐξῄτει] *demanded to have given up to him.*

29 1 ὅσπερ πρότερον &c.] viz. in the 20*th* year of the *Peloponnesian* war they agreed to give up all the places, which had been held by the K. of *Persia* or by his ancestors; which was in effect to make him master of the greatest part of *Greece*. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 8. c. 2. and afterwards by the negotiation of *Antalcidas* they proposed to give up the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 82.

2 ἐὰ μέλλοι συμμαχήσειν] *as the condition of his continuing his alliance*; Or, *if it was expected that he should continue it.*

4 τῶν δ' ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐψεύσθη] *He was mistaken in the rest of the allies.*

6 Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ] *Xenophon* relates that they all were as much averse to a peace upon those terms, as the *Athenians.*

10 τοῦτ' ἐλευθεριώτατον καὶ ἐλευθερίου] *this principle of generosity and freedom.*

11 ἀκιβδήλως] *without any mixture.*

12 ἐ

29 12 ὁ γὰρ Πέλοπος, ἀλλὰ Κάδμου, ἀλλὰ Αἰγυπτίου τε καὶ Δαναοῦ] This is said with respect to the people mentioned l. 4. *Pelops* was son of *Tantalus* K. of *Sipylus* in *Phrygia:* having been worsted in war by *Ilus* he fled for refuge to *Oenomaus* K. of *Pisa* in *Elis*; where he succeeded him in the Kingdom by marrying his daughter *Hippodamia:* by her he had a numerous issue, by whose marriages and a reign of 58 years, he got footing in most parts of the peninsula, calling it from himself *Peloponnesus. Stan.* V. 1. p. 31. *Ægyptus* and *Danaus* were two Brothers; the latter upon account of ill usage fled into *Peloponnesus*, and seized the Kingdom of *Argos*; *Ægyptus* followed him thither; whose son *Lynceus* succeeded him in the Kingdom. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 25. *Cadmus* is well known to have come from *Phœnicia*, and to have fixed the seat of his power and dominion at *Thebes* in *Bœotia. Stan.* V. 1. p. 121.

11 ἀμυνεῖς τῷ Βαρβάρῳ] see *Peric.* p. 3. l. 8.

15 συνέστηκε] *is firmly rivetted and incorporated with* ——

19 ἐλθόντες εἰς ταῦτα] *being reduced to the same circumstances* and deserted by the rest of the *Grecians.*

ib. τοπρότερον ἐπολεμήθημεν] *viz.* by *Lysander.*

21 τὰς ἡμετέρας &c.] see *Chronol. Tab.* 3618.

22 ἀπηλλάγημεν τοῦ πολέμου] *viz.* by the peace of *Antalcidas.* The *Athenians* were harassed on all sides by a kind of piratical war without bringing things to a general issue, sometimes infested by the people of *Ægina*, then insulted by some of the other Islanders, and then by the *Lacedæmonians. Stan.* V. 5. p. 89.

ib. ὅτως ἀγαπητῶς ἀπηλλάγησαν] *were no less glad to get rid of the war.* For the *Lacedæmonians* had more garrisons than they could maintain, saw their confederates revolting from them, and were, as most of the other *Grecian* states were, drained of their men and money. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 89.

24 ἐν Κορίνθῳ γενομένων δυσχωρίᾳ] Soon after the confederacy was formed against the *Lacedæmonians*, a battle was fought in the territories of *Corinth*, wherein the *Lacedæmonian* allies were almost entirely routed; but the *Lacedæmonians* themselves maintained their ground, and pressed so hard upon the *Athenians*, who were directly opposite to them, that they recovered the day and beat the *Athenians* with the loss only of eight men. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 77. which makes it probable that the defeat was occasioned, as is here intimated, by their *δυσχωρίᾳ having a great disadvantage in the ground.*

30 1 ἐν Λεχαίῳ πύλαις] *Lechæum* was a haven belonging to and adjoining to *Corinth.* —— The more wealthy part of the *Corinthians* soon grew tired of the war against the *Lacedæmonians* because the chief seat of it lay in their territories, and were

were inclinable to a peace: This was oppoſed by the magiſtrates and others in the *Athenian* intereſt, by whoſe contrivance a maſſacre was made of ſeveral of the principal inhabitants: They who eſcaped, managed ſo as to let a party of the *Lacedæmonians* into *Lechæum*, who killed ſeveral of the *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Bœotians*.

2 ἐκβακλόντες ὐκ τῆς ἡλιάτης] firſt by *Conon*, and afterwards by *Iphicrates*.

10 μεμνημένος — παὶ ἄνδρα] N. the difference of number.

13 ἄκρητος κράκη] *viz.* τύχη *yielding to the ſtroke of adverſe fortune*; Or, γνώμη *yielding out of cowardice.*

17 δίκαιόν ἐμοὶ] *I am obliged in juſtice to.*

ib. ἐπίσκηψαν] *ſolemnly injoined us to* ——

22 Ω παῖδες &c.] *Demetrius Phalereus* cites this paſſage, as an inſtance of the great force which the *Proſopopœia* has in Oratory.

ib. ἢ τε πατέρων] *viz.* φύσ.

31 1 τὰς ἔπειτα] *viz.* ἐσομένους, *poſterity.*

3 αἰσχῦναι] *Hom. Il. ζ.* 208. μηδ μιχλὰ πόλι ἐπίπλειον

Αἴαν ἀρειτέων κὲ ὑπείροχον ἐμμεναι ἄλλων

Μηδὲ γένος πατέρων αἰσχυνέμεν ——

7 τάτε] sc. πεφάγματα viz. ἀρετῆς p. 31. l. 7.

9 κράλλος φέρει τὸ κεκτημένῳ] *brings with it any thing upon which a man can with reaſon value himſelf*, ἐφ' ᾧ τις καλλύνηται; the word κάλλος is here oppoſed to τὸ αἰσχρὸ: in l. 11. it is uſed in the common ſenſe.

20 τὸ ὑμᾶς νικᾶσθαι] *viz.* ἔπη.

25 μὴ δ' ἑαυτὸν &c.] *Hom. Il. ζ.* 446. *de Hectore.*

Δερύφοβος πατρός τε μέγα κλέος ἠδ' ἐμὸν αὐτῆ.

32 1 ἔστιν γὰρ πᾶσι γονεῦσι ἐκγόνοις (εὖ) κάλλος ἥσασθαι] *for it is a noble treaſure for Children to have the honours of their Anceſtors to inherit.*

7 ἀΐδοις ὑμῶν ὑποδέξονται] alluding to the opinion that ſouls departed retained the ſame affections in the regions below, as when alive. thus *Dido* is repreſented *Æneid.* B. 6. v. 467. *Torva tuens* ——*ſolo fixos oculos averſa tenens*, when *Æneas* ſpake to her; agreeably to the example of *Ajax*'s behaviour towards *Ulyſſes* Οδυσσ. λ. 592.

9 ἃ χρὴ παραμυθεῖσθαι] *ſupply* φάναι ὕτως παραμυθητέον or παραμυθητέος. or from l. 8. τῦτο ἀρκεῖσθω.

11 ξυωδύρεσθαι] *join with them in their lamentations*; thereby aggravating their grief.

15 ὃ γὰρ ἀθανάτους &c.] *Cic. de Amic.* Niſi enim (quod ille minime optabat) immortalitatem optare vellet, quid non eſt adeptus, quod homini fas eſſet optare? qui ſummam &c. & *Sall. B. Jug.* Neque quiſquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni, honeſtique vitam exigerent.

18 καὶ

18 καὶ φέροιλες] *viz.* χὴ (ἀναμιμνήσκειν αὐτὲς ὅτι) φέροντες ——

22 χρὴ δὲ ἐδέτερα τέτων] *viz.* γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ (χρὴ) σώφρονες &c.

33 1 Μηδὲν ἄγαν] Many names are cited for the Author of this prudential maxim. ſee *Eraſmi Adagia*, Ne quid nimis.

2 ὅτῳ γὲ ἀνδρὶ &c.] *Cic. Parad.* 11. Nemo poteſt non beatiſſimus eſſe, qui eſt totus aptus ex ſeſe, quique in ſe uno ſua ponit omnia. Cui ſpes omnis et ratio et cogitatio pendet ex fortunâ, huic nihil poteſt eſſe certi.

7 ἔτος, γιγνομένων &c.] *Cicero* Tuſc. Diſp. B. 5. *renders the paſſage as if it ſtood thus*, ἔτος γιγνομένων καὶ ἀφθειρομένων χρημάτων, τὸ μάλιστα παίδων, πέφευγε &c. hic, & naſcentibus & cadentibus cum reliquis commodis, tum maximè liberis, parebit &c. *and then adds*, Ex hoc Platonis quaſi quodam ſancto auguſtoque fonte noſtra omnis manabit oratio.

10 Τοιὰς δὲ &c.] *Hom. Il.* ζ. 210.

Τοίης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὔχομαι εἶναι.

19 κέφως ἢ ℭ μετρίως] *ſupply* φέροιλες ——

34 5 ἐπιμεληθέντα] N. the tranſition from the plural to the ſingular ἐπιμεληθέντα l. 7.

ib. τὲς μὲ παιδεύοντες κοσμίως, τὲς δὲ γηροτροφῆντες ἀξίως] It was one of *Solon*'s laws, that the Parents and Children of ſuch as were cut off in war ſhould be taken care of. If Parents were killed, their children were put to ſchool at the publick charge; and when come to maturity of age, were preſented with a whole ſuit of Armour, and ſettled every one in his reſpective calling, and honoured with the firſt ſeats in all publick places. —— And in general, the care of the Publick was extended to the children of all ſuch as had been eminently ſerviceable to the Publick. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 136, 138. V. 2. p. 119, 275, 346.

18 ἀρχὴ ἥπερ μεγίστη ἐστὶν] *viz.* the *Archons*; more eſpecially the Πολέμαρχος. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 77.

ib. φυλάττειν —— ὅπως ἂν οἱ τέτων μὴ ἀδικῶνται] Such as had received the honour of any privilege from the city of *Athens* were under its more particular care and protection; and the injuries done them, were reſented as publick affronts to the commonwealth; inſomuch that whoſoever did affront, ſtrike, or ſpeak ill of any ſuch perſon, was by the Law declared *Infamous*. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 136, 181. V. 2. p. 199.

20 συνεπαίφῳ αὐτῇ] *viz.* in the *Prytaneum*. The being entertained at the publick expence was a compliment occaſionally paid in conſideration of ſervices done to the Publick, and was reputed one of the higheſt honours at *Athens*. In what manner or under what regulation this publick maintenance was exhibited does not appear. In general, there ſeems to have been a publick Table kept for the *Prytanes*, or the ſtanding Committee of the Council of 500 for managing affairs of State.

34 State. Their common fare is said to have been frugal enough; consisting of a sort of cakes or puddings called μάζα. Upon holidays they had an allowance of bread: and as for flesh, the tenths of all the bellies of animals offered in sacrifice were always reserved for them. see *Archæol.* V. 3. p. 136, 181. V. 2. p. 119. Tho' it should seem from some bantering expressions of *Aristophanes*, that the ordinary diet was not always the most frugal, nor bestowed merely in consideration of publick services. But, that the publick provision in general was moderate, we may collect from what was paid to the Outpensioners, or such as had been disabled in the wars; which was more or less, according to the exigency of publick affairs, and the circumstances of particular persons; sometimes 3 *Oboli* (or almost 4*d.*) sometimes 2 *Oboli* (or a little more than 2*d.* ½) and sometimes 1 *Obolus* (or 1*d. qu.*) a day; and this on supposition that they had not a yearly estate of three Attick *Minæ* (or 9*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*) In *Demosthenes*'s time the σιτηρέσιον or subsistence money of a common foot soldier was *two Oboli, per diem.* Phil. 1. §. 10. The whole pay of a foot Soldier *four Oboli. Archæol.* V. 2. p. 8, 9.

ib. πρόθυμα μὲν ὅπ μάλιστ' ἄλλον αὐτὸν τὴν ὀρφανίαν φηνίσαι] *being desirous to have them rendered as little sensible as may be, of their Orphan state* ——

23 ἐς ἀνδρὸς τέλος] *to the rank of manhood.* viz. at the age of 20 years.

24 πανοπλίαν κομίσασα] see p. 11. l. 12. and p. 34. l. 5. At the time of performing this ceremony the following oath was taken by the *Ephebi*. "I'll never do any thing to disgrace "this armour; I'll never fly from my post, nor desert my "General; but I'll fight for my country and religion, in an "army or single combat; I'll never be the cause of weak- "ning or endamaging my country, and if it be my fortune "to sail on the seas, my country thinking fit to send me in a "colony, I'll willingly acquiesce, and enjoy that land which "is allotted me. I'll firmly adhere to the present constitu- "tion of affairs, and whatsoever enactions the People shall "please to pass, I'll see no body violate or pervert them; "but I'll either singly by myself, or by joining with others, "endeavour to revenge them. I'll conform to my country's "Religion. If occasion require, I'll lay down my life for "my native country. My endeavours to extend the domi- "nions of *Athens* shall never cease, while there are wheat, "barley, vineyards, and olive-trees without its limits. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 151.

35 3 ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν] *to take possession of their paternal house and estate.* —— It is probable, and this expression seems to imply, that this Ceremony was not observed, at least with

35 thoſe particular marks of ſolemnity, with regard to all the *Athenians* indiſcriminately, but only to young perſons of ſuperior fortunes.

5 κἀθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν] *Cicero* aſſerts that this very Oration of *Plato* was recited publickly upon every return of this anniverſary ſolemnity (I ſuppoſe in his time.) *Orator* §. 151. *Platonis Oratio, qua nos eſt Athenis laudari in concione eos, quì ſint in præliis interfecti,* —— *ſic probata eſt, ut eam quotannis, ut Jcis, illo die recitari neceſſe ſit.*

ib. τὰ νομιζόμενα] The care of funeral rites among the *Grecians* was looked upon as a debt ſo ſacred, that ſuch as neglected to diſcharge it, were thought accurſed: hence they were called ὅσια, νόμιμα, νομιζόμενα, ἔθιμα, ὅσιον &c. and, among the *Romans*, *juſta*; all which words imply an inviolable obligation upon the Living to take care of the obſequies of the Dead. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 161.

7 ἀγῶνας γυμνικοὺς καὶ ἱππικοὺς — καὶ μουσικῆς πάσης] Theſe Games were not intended merely to ſerve the purpoſe of amuſement to idle perſons, but principally to raiſe a ſpirit of emulation in all valuable accompliſhments; for the particulars here referred to were conſtant parts of a liberal education in *Greece*. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 227. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 10. c. 1. Art. 2. §. 10.

ib. μουσικῆς πάσης] *of all the liberal arts*, particularly Oratory and Poetry; nor was the practical part of Muſick excepted: for the more ſolemn performance whereof *Pericles* built a magnificent *Odeum*, or Muſick-Theatre at *Athens*.

12 πᾶσιν πάντων περὶ πάντα] Schema dict. Latinè *conjunctum*. thus Xenoph. Κ. Π. Η. δίκας δικαίως δικαζόμενος, *Rom.* 12. 3. μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν περ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν· ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν. and 2 *Cor.* 9. 8. Δυνατὸς δὲ ὁ Θεὸς πᾶσαν χάριν περισσεῦσαι εἰς ὑμᾶς· ἵνα ἐν παντὶ πάντοτε πᾶσαν αὐτάρκειαν ἔχοντες, περισσεύητε εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν.

36 3 πρόχειρα ἄλλων] *but above all* ——

4 ἀλλ' ὅπως] ἀλλ' (*viz.* ὅρα, βλέπε or σκόπει) ὅπως.

6 πολιτικοὺς] alluding to his love of politicks, which *Socrates* banters at the beginning of the Dialogue. p. 12. l. 5 &c.

NOTES

UPON

LYSIAS.

37 3 Ἐξ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν] *viz.* διελθόντων) *at a short warning of a few days.* So l. 7. ἐξ ὀλίγου, *viz.* χρόνου διελθόντος.

4 τοῖς ἐπαγγέλλουσιν] See *Thucyd.* p. 2. l. 1.

38 2 ἄπειροι] See *Thuc.* p. 7. l. 15.

6 μνήμην παρὰ τῆς φήμης λαβόντων] *taking my account from tradition.* The *Grecians* for a long while followed only their first guide Tradition, in tracing back the footsteps of former ages. Some fix the *Attick* æra at the flood of *Ogyges*. *Plutarch* makes an excuse for beginning so high as *Theseus*: *Dionysius Halicarn.* says there was nothing certain before the *Trojan* war: *Varro* calls the beginning of the *Olympiads* the *Historical Times*: *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is writ of *Greece* before the reign of *Cyrus*; and Others place the most antient Historians but a little before the descent of the *Persian*. *Stan.* Pref. V. 1.

7 ᾠδαῖς] *viz.* those solemn *Odes*, which were sung in honour of the victors in the *Olympick* games, and other great men in the more august feasts and ceremonies of Religion, particularly at the festival of *Panathenæa*. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 420. *Rollin.* V. 4.

8 ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μνήμαις] *in the commemorations of brave men*, whose praises were upon solemn occasions celebrated in set harangues: this expression relates to prosaic compositions, as the foregoing does to poetical.

9 καιροῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις] *viz.* οἷοι νῦν εἰσι) *upon such solemn occasions as these.*

10 Ἀμαζόνες] Some place the country of the *Amazons* in *Scythia*, (and agreeably thereunto make *Thermodon* a river in *Scythia*, because the *Amazons* are by All agreed to have dwelt near it.) Others in *Cappadocia*. *Herodotus* B. 4. c. 100, &c. gives an account how a great many of them came to be transported from their original settlements of *Cappadocia* into *Scythia*. — The *Amazonian* war was occasioned by *Theseus*'s taking a romantick voyage into the *Euxine* sea, and bringing off from among the *Amazons* his wife *Antiope*, or, as others call-

ed

ed her, *Hippolyte*. Theſe warlike women upon this came from their habitations, and gave the *Athenians* battle. But this war is ſo differently related, that ſome have fancied that there were two expeditions of that kind, and that *Antiope* and *Hippolyte* were two different women. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 150.

10 Ἄρεος — θυγατέρες] as all other warlike people were ſuppoſed to derive their pedigree from *Mars*.

23 τυχόσαι δ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν *happenning* contrary to their expectation *to meet with brave men.*

ib. ὁμοίας ἐκτήσαντο τὰς ψυχὰς τῇ φύσει] *they had* upon this occaſion *ſouls befitting their ſex* i. e. *they ſhewed forth no more courage than what might be expected from the female ſex.*

24 γὰρ εὐανδρίαν τὴν δόξαν ἣ πρότερον λαβοῦσαι] *and gaining a reputation quite contrary to what they had hitherto maintained* i. e. *loſing their reputation for courage.*

39 1 μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἢ ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἐδόξαν εἶναι γυναῖκες] *ſhewed themſelves to be Women more from the dangers* (i. e. the manner in which they behaved under dangers) *than by their bodies*, which being ὡπλισμένοι σιδήρῳ p. 38. l. 12. looked as terrible as thoſe of any Men could do.

3 περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν] viz. πραγμάτων *with regard to their future conduct.*

11 Ἀφάρτε &c.] ſee *Plat.* p. 20. l. 3.

15 τὰ αὐτῶν ἐ νομίζεσθαι] The duties belonging to the Dead were thought of greater importance, and the neglect of them to be a crime of a blacker character than thoſe required by the Living. And even among the moſt Barbarous nations it was reckoned an unpardonable crime to defraud them of any due reſpect; it was thought a ſign of a cruel and inhuman diſpoſition to proſecute revenge beyond the grave, and a great provocation to the infernal Gods (as alſo to τοῖς ἄνω θεοῖς p. 39. l. 15.) and ſuch as would call up certain vengeance, to neglect any opportunity, which offered of paying this debt of burial to any carcaſe, which a perſon accidentally met with, even tho' a ſtranger. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 160, 162.

23 ἃ νομιζομένων] ſee *Plato* p. 35. l. 5.

40 5 κοιναὶ ἐλπίδες] *the hopes, which all men may reaſonably indulge*, of having their funeral rites duly performed. —— or, of being relieved by the aſſiſtance of thoſe common friends to the diſtreſſed, the *Athenians*. —— or the common hope of reſting after Death, to which reſt Interment was neceſſary.

Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba eſt &c.
Virg. Æn. IV. 134 &c.

11 λαβόντες τὰ ἆθλα] Contenders in the Grecian games were ſaid λαμβάνειν, κατιλαμβάνειν &c. the ἆθλον or prize, which was thus called in reſpect of the Ἀθλητὴς who received it, catching

40 catching it or taking it from the top of the goal after the βραβευταὶ or judges had passed sentence that it belonged to the victor. —— in respect of the βραβεῖον the prize was called βραβεῖον. so *Phil.* 3. 12. see *Hammond.* 1 *Cor.* 9. 24.

11 τὰ ἄθλα] *viz.* the bodies of the slain.

13 ἐξ ἐκπυ ἐπὶ Θησέως] *viz.* πρεσβεύσαντων.

16 ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη] a Hero to celebrated as *Hercules* could not be supposed to die a common death; much less would it be proper for the Orator to hint at either of the only determinate accounts what became of him, *viz.* that he fell a sacrifice to the jealous resentment of his mistresses by poison, or that he burnt himself in a fit of phrenzy: and therefore by this ambiguous expression he has left it to his Audience to suppose him to have been honoured with a sort of assumption into the assembly of the Gods, in consideration of his beneficial services to mankind. He is supposed to have died about the 52 year of his age. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 37.

ib. οἱ δὲ παῖδες] about sixty in number. see *Plato* p. 20. l. 3.

ib. Εὐρυσθέα] The relation between *Eurystheus* and *Hercules* is settled in this manner. —— *Perseus* K. of *Mycenæ* left several sons behind him: among others *Alcæus*, *Sthenelus* and *Electryon*. *Alcæus* was the Father of *Amphitryon*; *Sthenelus* of *Eurystheus*; and *Electryon* of *Alcmene*. *Amphitryon* married *Alcmene*, upon whom *Jupiter* begat *Hercules*. —— *Perseus* was succeeded in his Kingdom successively by *Electryon*, *Sthenelus* and *Eurystheus*. *Rollin.* V. 2. B. 5. Art. 4.

18 τοῖς ἔργοις] *viz.* this cruel usage of *Eurystheus*.

19 ἱκέτας ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν] Temples, Statues, and Altars of the Deities were accounted so sacred, that to many of them the privilege of protecting offenders was granted; so that if any malefactor fled to them it was accounted an act of sacrilege to force him thence; not that all Temples were sanctuaries, but only such as received that privilege from the manner of consecration. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 198, 201. But this probably was the case in aftertimes, when the number of Temples &c. was so much increased, as must have, without such limitation, entirely obstructed the execution of justice upon malefactors. This Altar at *Athens*, whether it was now erected by the *Heraclidæ*, or whether it was one that they took refuge at, became one of the most celebrated *Asyla* of antiquity. see *Hospinian. de Templis.* B. 1. c. 13.

41 1 μετὰ δ' οὐ σὺν πολλῷ τῷ χρόνῳ &c.] for upon the Descent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus* the whole government of all the several kingdoms of it, excepting *Arcadia*, was transferred into new hands; and many of the inhabitants were likewise obliged to quit their settlements and remove into different parts. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 58, &c.

5 ἐκείνης

41 5 ἐκείνους τ' οὖσι εἰδότες ὁποῖοι τινες ἄνδρες ἴσασιν ἡμῶν] This manifestly referrs to the ingratitude of the Descendants of the *Heraclidæ* afterwards; who, notwithstanding the assistance they had received from the *Athenians* in gaining possession of *Peloponnesus*, invaded *Attica* on pretence that the *Athenians* received the fugitives which they had driven from thence. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 154. tho' from the wording of it *viz.* p. 40. l. 16. οἱ παῖδες and 41 l. 5. ἄνδρες γενόμενοι one would think that *Lysias* intimated that the same individual persons, who had been so much obliged in their childhood, proved ungrateful when arrived to years of maturity.

13 τοσοῦτον δ' ἐφρόνει] *Both sides were so high spirited* ——

15 οἱ μετ' Εὐρυσθεώς (*viz.* πρατεύσαντες) *Eurystheus* and his Party.

42 1 φιλόπονον αὐτῷ κατεσκεύασε τὸν βίον] Besides the twelve Labours which *Hercules* performed chiefly at the instigation of *Eurystheus*, there were several others which he undertook of himself; particularly, in protecting the weak, and repressing violence, subduing the most notorious robbers, murderers and tyrants, which, like so many *Pests* and *Monsters* of mankind, at that time infested the world; and this perhaps was the real import of his famous twelve Labours likewise. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 34.

3 εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμφισβήτησε] particularly by keeping the crown from *Hercules*, which by right of primogeniture belonged to Him. see p. 40. l. 16.

7 Πολλὰ μὲν ὑπῆρχε τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις] *And indeed there were many circumstances that favoured or contributed to form this disposition in our ancestors.*

9 Τῆς βίας] *the beginning of our political life* i. e. the first foundation of our state.

ib. ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί] —— see *Thucyd.* p. 6. l. 24.

13 ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ] —— Not certainly at the first original of the *Athenian* people; for a long time they were governed by Kings. *Theseus* traced out the plan of Popular government, and began the execution of it; tho' it could scarce be called properly a *popular state* 'till the establishment of the nine *Archons*. It was *Solon* after all, who confirmed this sort of Government by his wise laws. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 299.

ib. ἐκκλίνοντες] particularly in the case of *Pisistratus*, and his sons. *Stan.* V. 1. 192, and 200. and afterwards of *Isagoras*. p. 204.

15 πάντων ἐλευθερίαν ὁμόνοιαν ἄνευ μιγίστην] *that the liberty of All was likely to be the strongest cement of civil union and agreement* ——

16 κοινὰς δ' ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐλπίδας ποιήσαντες.] *And having made the hopes attending the dangers common to each other*

42 *other respectively*, i. e. *And thus each man finding himself to have a common interest to support by engaging in the dangers—*

23 γιόντες ὅμοια] *influenced by principles suitable to their noble birth.*

43 3 μόνοι — δὲ] *viz.* at *Marathon* by Land, against the forces of *Darius*; and at *Artemisium* at Sea, against the navy of *Xerxes.*

10 στασιαζόσης τῆς Ελλάδος] It does not appear that the *Grecian* States were divided in their several sentiments upon *this* occasion; tho' they remarkably were so afterwards, before the fight at *Salamis*. The *Athenian* Generals indeed were not unanimous in their resolutions; tho' at length they all yielded to *Miltiades*. *Herodot.* L. 6. c. 109.

19 ἀ λογισμῷ εἰδότες] *not computing the danger*, which must have discouraged them from attacking such superiority of numbers.

21 λόγῳ] referring to λογισμῷ above.

24 ἐκ ἀνέμεναν συμβάσας] *not to wait for the good effects of their sollicitation*; for in fact they did send to *Lacedæmon*. *Herod.* L. 6. c. 106. ἀλλ' βοηθήσαι, *nor to wait till they actually sent supplies:* for supplies were sent, tho' too late for the action. *ib.*

44 5 τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς ἀλυπτείας κεκτῆσθ] The sentiment seems to denote no more than that by losing their lives they secured to themselves renown. The expression indeed is very affected and made use of probably for the sake of the Antithesis between ψυχ. ἀλυπτείας & μνημ. ἰδίαν. If the meaning be, that "they looked on their Lives as not their own, but their "Fame as their own for ever" compare it with *Luke* 16. 12. "If ye have not been faithful in what you are not intitled to "keep, how can ye expect the true and lasting happiness to "be conferred on You?" *Isocrates* has used a similar expression, ὥσπερ οὐ ἀλυπτείας ψυχὰς μᾶλλον ἢ κινδύνους. Παιηγ. p. 136. *Thucydides* before them both, B. 1. had, ἓν τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλυπτοτεπάτοις ὑπὲρ πόλεως χρῶνται.

11 ἀ φιλοψυχήσαντες] *not entertaining an unseasonable, ill-timed love of their own lives* ——

12 τὰς παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμους] see particularly the oath taken by the Ephebi, *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 151. *Plat.* 34. 24. and *Lys.* 53. 13.

15 παρὰ τὰς ὅρκους] If there was any Treaty between *Persians* and *Athenians* hereby violated, it was probably that which was entered into immediately after the restoration of *Clisthenes*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 205. In other editions it is παρὰ τοὺς ὅρους ἃ χώρας, *passing over those boundaries whereby nature seemed to have limited the* Persian *territory*, namely, the *Ægean* sea.

16. ὅτω

44 16 ἔτω δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ταχέων] viz. *χρόνων with so much expedition.*
ib. τὸ κίνδυνον ἐποιήσαντο] i. e. ἐκινδύνευσαντο. *they went thro' the danger:* this expression occurs again, p. 50. l. 21. In a different sense, the *Persians* are said, p. 43. l. 11. κίνδυνον ποιεῖσθαι, to strike terror, namely by *bringing on the danger.*
19 ἄλλων] *the rest of the* Grecians ——
ib. ἔδεισεν ὑπὲρ τῶ μέλλοντος κινδύνε] *were put to any painful apprehensions about the impending danger.*
20 ἀλλ᾽ ἀκούσαντες—ἥδησαν] *but the first news they heard brought with it joy for the deliverance of their liberties.*
23 ζηλῶσθαι] *is proposed as the model and pattern for their ambition and emulation to copy after* ——

45 2 καταφρονήσας τῆς Ελλάδος] see the debates in *Xerxes*'s council to this purpose. *Herodot.* L. 7. c. 8, 9, 10, 11. and *Stan.* V. 1. p. 230. *Rollin* B. 6. c. 2.
3 ἀπημαζόρθω τῷ γεγονυμένῳ] *thinking himself and his imperial dignity disgraced by the check that had been given to his father.*
4 ἀπαθὴς κακῶν] *unused to misfortunes, and consequently insolent.*
5 ἄπειρος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν] *having as yet had no experience of the bravery of the men whom he was going to encounter.* referring to the honest counsel given him on this occasion by *Artabanus*, which he rejected with disdain. *Herod.* L. 7.
ib. δεκάτῳ ἔτει] i. e. in the *tenth* year after the defeat at *Marathon*, but in the *fifth* year of his reign. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 2.
6 χιλίας μὲν καὶ διακοσίας ναυσὶν] a round number for 1207 galleys, all with three banks of oars and intended for fighting. Each vessel carried 200 men, natives of the country which fitted them out, besides 30 more either *Persians*, *Medes*, or *Sacæ*, and in all 277,610 men. The *Europæan* nations added 120 vessels carrying each 200; in all 24000. Besides these there were small galleys of 30 and 50 oars; transport-ships, victuallers and tenders, to the number of 3000; in each of which supposing 80 men, the amount is 240,000. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 3.
7 πεζῆς στρατιᾶς ἄπειρον πλῆθος] In *Thrace Xerxes* found his land-army, brought by him out of *Asia*, consisted of 1700,000 foot and 80,000 horse; less than 20,000 to take care of the carriages and camels can't well be supposed: 300,000 joined him after passing the *Hellespont*; so that all his land-forces amounted to 2,100,000 men. When arrived at *Thermopylæ* his land and sea-forces together made up the number of 2,641,610 men, without including women, servants, sutlers, &c. of which the number was equal to that of the forces: so that the whole number of souls in *Xerxes*'s expedition amounted to 5,283,220. This is *Herodotus*'s account, in which

45 which *Isocrates* and *Plutarch* agree. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny*, and *Ælian* fall much short of this number in their calculations. *Rollin ib.* *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 334.

10 ἀφ' ὃ τὸ στενότατον] (viz. χώρειον) the breadth was about 7 furlongs or near an *English* mile.

13 ὑπερελθὼν τὰ φύσει πεφυκότα] *Sall. de Metello B. Jug.* Omnes asperitates supervadere ac naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. *and again*, Naturam ipsam cæteris imperitantem industriâ vicerat. Xenoph. Κ Π. ε' Βασιλεὺς μὲν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ σὺ φύσει πεφυκέναι. —— and η' πρὸς μὲν νόμιζε φύσει φύσαι ἀνθρώπους.

16 ζεύξας μὲν τὸν Ελλήσποντον] *viz.* by two bridges of gallies tyed together, and so well anchored that they resisted the winds. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 233. see them described out of *Herodot.* B. 7. c. 33. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 2.

ib. διορύξας δὲ τὸν Ἄθω] *Athos* is a peninsula of *Macedonia* projecting a great way into the sea: The Isthmus whereby it is joined to the land is about 1 ½ mile over. In *Darius*'s first expedition, conducted by *Mardonius*, his fleet attempting to double this peninsula, in order to gain the coast of *Macedonia*, was greatly shattered by a tempest to the loss of 300 ships, and 20,000 men. *Xerxes* upon this pretext gave orders for cutting thro' this mountain; and the passage then made was broad enough to let two galleys with three banks of oars pass through it abreast. *Rollin* V. 3. *ib.*

17 ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν &c.] The greatest part of *Bœotia* and *Thessaly*, with other petty states, which lay most exposed, declared for the *Persians*: and the *Argives*, partly out of fear, partly out of inveterate hatred to the *Lacedæmonians*, held secret intelligence with the enemy. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 235.

18 ἀμύνασθαι] *Sal. B. Cat.* ad defendendum (sc. *ad prohibendam audaciam*) opes minores sunt.

21 αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐς ναῦς ἐμβάντες] The chief dependence as sea was upon *Athens*; *Themistocles* had by exerting himself increased their navy to near 200 sail; these together with the fleet of the confederates made 280. *Hind.* p. 302. *Stan.* V. p. 237.

22 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων ἔτει] The number of men dispatched to oppose the *Persians* was 6000, under *Leonidas* one of the *Lacedæmonian* Kings: In this body there were but 300 *Lacedæmonians*; the rest consisting of *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Arcadians*, and several other lesser states, who each of them furnished such proportions as they were able to raise in the present exigency, assigning particular captains to their own troops; but *Leonidas* had the command of the whole. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 236.

24 ἀφ' τὴν στενότητα] The ſtreights of *Thermopylæ* were a narrow paſs of 25 foot wide, between the mountains, which divided *Theſſaly* from the reſt of *Greece*. There were in it the remains of a wall with gates to it; which the *Phocians* had formerly built to ſecure themſelves againſt the incurſions of the *Theſſalians:* And from theſe Gates, and ſome *Hot Baths*, which were at the entrance into the *Paſs*, it obtained the name of *Thermopylæ*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 236.

46 1 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἐνίκων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ] The fight at and about *Artemiſium* continued two days, in both which the *Greeks* ſuffered very much by reaſon of the ſuperior number of the Enemy's ſhipping; but as the Enemy left the ſea and the wreck and ſpoils to the *Greeks*, the victory might be adjudged to them. *Hind.* p. 314, 315. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 242.

3 ἀλλὰ τοῦ πλήθους ψευσθέντες &c.] *Leonidas* maintained his poſt at *Thermopylæ* with great bravery and ſucceſs for 3 days; But finding himſelf likely to be attacked in the rear, he gave leave to the reſt of the confederates to go off; upon which he was deſerted by the reſt except 300 *Lacedæmonians* with ſome *Theſpians* and *Thebans*, in all about 1000 men; who, after making a carnage of 20000, were overpowerd by numbers. *Hind.* p. 311. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 232. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 6.

5 οἵπερ ἠτιμωμένοι] viz. ἐτελεύτησαν, for there is no verb in the ſentence.

13 ἁλώσεται] viz. ἡ πόλις.

19 ἐξέλιπον &c] ſee *Plato* 22. 15. and 23. 9.

47 1 οἱ δὲ μέγας καὶ δεινὸς &c.] *Xerxes* after he had burnt *Athens* marched down toward the ſea to act in conjunction with his fleet, which was come to *Phalerus*, an *Athenian* Port. And whilſt he was concerting meaſures with his Officers, the *Grecians* near *Salamis* were much diſpirited and divided in their councils; the *Lacedæmonians* and others being for abandoning *Salamis* and making their ſtand at the *Iſthmus*. But by the ſtratagem of *Themiſtocles* the engagement was brought on before the *Grecian* fleet ſeparated; and by his conduct, and the courage and skill of the *Athenians*, a compleat victory was obtained. *Hind.* p. 321, &c. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 245, &c. So that during that ſeaſon of debate among the *Grecians*, when their diviſions in council had nearly proved fatal to them, there is fair room for imagining the ſcene which is here ſo oratorically deſcribed.

6 ἄλλων τῶν σὺν Σαλαμινίοις] their wives and children were the *prize* for which they were to contend. The Σαλαμίνιοι therefore upon this occaſion might be conſidered as the βραβεῦται of this glorious conteſt.

47 9 τῷ αὐτὸν προειδέναι] *because they foresaw it to be, as it were, inevitable:* And therefore being thus prepared for it, the evil of it lessened in their apprehensions.

19 παιᾶνος] Before the *Grecian* armies adventured to join their enemies they endeavoured by prayers, vows, and sacrifices to engage Heaven to their assistance, and sung an Hymn to *Mars* called Παιὰν ἐμβατήριος, as that sung to *Apollo* after a prosperous battle was termed Παιὰν ἐπινίκιος. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 76. In *Xen.* K. Π. ζ. p. 482. the *Pæan* is distinguished from the Hymn to *Mars.* Κύρος — ἐξῆρχε παιᾶνα, σωτηρίαν δὲ πᾶς ὁ φόβος. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῇ Ἐνυαλίῳ τε ἅμα ἐπηλάλαξαν —— see also *Xenoph.* K. Π. γ. p. 195. *Hutch.* not. Besides Hymns of a religious kind, it has been customary with all armies, as well those of civilized nations as barbarous, at the time of coming to an engagement, to endeavour to strike terror into their enemies, and to encourage their friends, by the shouting repetition of some certain words peculiar to themselves; instances whereof are cited in great variety. *Lipsius de militiâ Romanâ,* L. 4. Dial. 11. *Neque frustra antiquitus institutum est, ut signa undique concinerent, clamoremque universi tollerent: quibus rebus et hostes terreri et sues incitari existimaverunt.* Cæsar de Bell. civil. L. 3.

48 3 θυσιῶν ἀναμνήσεις] *the recital of the sacrifices,* which they had formerly offered, such as *Chryses* makes *Il.* α. 40. —— Or, *Vows of future sacrifices;* which is agreeable to *Plutarch,* who informs us, that *Pericles* summoned all the *Grecians* to *Athens* to consult concerning the sacrifices, which they were indebted upon the vows they made to the Gods for the safety of *Greece,* when they fought against the *Barbarians. vit. Pericl.*

17 Θεμιστοκλέα] see his character distinctly drawn. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 281, &c.

18 γνώμην ἐμφρονέστατον] *of exquisite wisdom and foresight.*

21 ἀρισεῖα τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐλαβον παρὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος] After their victory at *Salamis, Themistocles* and the rest of the commanders of the *Grecian* navy went and exacted contributions of the several Islands which had favoured the *Persians:* And afterwards upon a general rendezvous of the confederates at the *Isthmus,* the Generals were unanimous in their praises of *Themistocles;* and the *Lacedæmonians* themselves gave him marks of extraordinary esteem, carrying him with them to *Lacedæmon,* crowning him with olive, presenting him with a rich chariot, and at his return home conducting him to the confines of their territories with 300 Horse. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 254.

23 τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὁμοιοῦσαν τοῖς κινδύνοις] *a happiness great in proportion to the dangers which they had undergone.*

5 Πελοπον-

49 5 Πελοποννησίων ἀφιστεχιζόντων τὴν Ἰσθμ.] All along from the firſt attempt of *Xerxes*, it was the favorite ſcheme of the *Lacedæmonians* to place their only confidence in the defence of *Peloponneſus*, and thereby to ſecure *Laconia*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 253. *Hind.* p. 302. With this view, when *Mardonius*, who had been left by *Xerxes* to proſecute the war, invaded *Attica*, and took the city of *Athens* a ſecond time, the *Lacedæmonians* ſtill continued intent upon their old ſcheme of fortifying the *Iſthmus* at *Corinth* by a wall, regardleſs of the repeated remonſtrances of the *Athenians* to march out and face the common danger; till the *Athenians* threatened them to join with the enemy and leave them to ſhift for themſelves. Upon which the *Lacedæmonians* ſent a reinforcement of 5000 men beſides 7000 *Helots*; and gave the *Athenians* leave to levy 5000 more. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 257, &c. *Hind.* p. 332. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 9.

6 ἀγαπώντων μὲν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ] *contented with the mean thought of ſecuring their lives*, regardleſs how much their honour and reputation would ſuffer by ſuch conduct.

12 οὔτ' ἐκείνοις δέησειν χιλίων νεῶν] *that they* (the Barbarians) *would not want* 1000 *ſhips* i. e. they would have enough to make an invaſion upon the Coaſts of *Peloponneſus*. the ſenſe ſeems to require a tranſpoſition. *viz.* τούτοις —— ἐκείνης.

13 ἀκινδυνώς] *without his running any hazard* either to obtain or preſerve it — *without ſtriking a blow.*

17 ἐβοήθησαν ἐς Πλαταιὰς] ſee *Plato* 23. 9.

18 διαφθάντων ὃ ὑπὸ νύκτα τῶν τελείων συμμάχων &c.] The two armies continued near *Platæa* for 11 or 12 days, which were ſpent only in ſlight skirmiſhes and traverſing each others motions. The *Grecians* ſuppoſing things could not be preſently brought to an iſſue, thought it neceſſary to remove their camp for the convenience of water; but breaking up in the night, were pretty much diſperſed, and ſome of them miſſed their way. In the morning *Mardonius*, imputing their diſorder to cowardice, purſued them with great violence; and charged their Rear, which conſiſted chiefly of *Lacedæmonians*. But they being aſſiſted by the *Tegeans* maintained their ground with great ſlaughter of the Enemy; and ſome other *Grecian* troops coming up completed the victory. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 261. *Hind.* p. 336. *Rollin.*

22 τὸς ἀπαγγέλους τ ἐλεύθερίας] the *Thebans* and *Theſſalians* ſided with the *Perſians*, and in a body of 5000 men endeavoured to intercept the *Athenians*, who were making all the haſte they could to have a ſhare in the action. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 337. *Rollin.*

50 7 Ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ] *viz.* about 23 years afterwards.

10 ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης &c.] The *Æginetans* had always made a considerable figure in *Greece* for their skill in sea-affairs; and it was chiefly in their bickerings with them that the *Athenians* layed the foundation of their greatness. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 220. They had likewise gained great reputation by their service against the *Persians*, and could ill bear the excessive growth of the *Athenians*, who having defeated them at sea made a descent and blocked up their city. The *Peloponnesians* sent 300 men to it's relief: And the *Corinthians* took this opportunity, whilst the *Athenian* forces were divided betwixt *Ægypt* and *Ægina* to make incursions into *Megaris*, and seized upon the fortress of *Geranea*. But the *Athenians* marched out of the city to a man against them under the conduct of *Myronides*. In the first battle the *Corinthians* without reason pretended to have the better: but upon coming to erect a trophy, a second ensued, wherein they were intirely defeated. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 302.

12 πολιορκέντων — Αἰγυπτίων] *viz.* the city *Memphis* in *Ægypt.* see *Plato* 23. 21.

13 τῶν ἡλικίας] *those who were of age for military service.* see *Thucyd.* 3. l. 14.

16 Γερανείαν] a fortress situate upon the summit of a high hill in the territory of *Megara*, commanding the passage to the *Isthmus*.

18 ἀδένα ἐτόλμησαν μεθαπέμψασθαι] *had too much spirit and resolution to send for a single man of them* ——

51 10 οἱ μὲν πάλιν ἐπανῆλθοντο, οἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐβουλεύοντο] They all betook themselves to their proper business respectively, *the young men returning to their former exercises and course of discipline, the aged to consult for the good of the State* ——

17 ἐδεδμήκεσαν ἔτη] The *Athenian* Empire began soon after the defeat of the *Persians* at *Platæa* and *Mycale*, and continued till the demolition of the walls of *Athens* by *Lysander*, i. e. about 73 years. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 2.

19 τοῖς ὀλίγοις τὰς πόλεις δουλοῦσι] alluding to that earnestness with which the *Lacedæmonians* endeavoured to establish their own model of *Oligarchical* government where-ever they obtained influence.

20 ἀναγκάσαντες] The *Athenians* no less exerted themselves in establishing, and *obliged* others to use, the *Democratical* form.

24 ἀλλ' ἐδίδε τῶν] (i. e. τὴ ἕ) ἑαυτῶ. see l. 22.

52 1 ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ] *during that period of time.* —— After the repeated victories of the *Athenians* under *Cimon*, the *Persians* were glad to treat upon any terms: and a peace was concluded extremely honourable on the *Grecians* side, the chief articles being, "That the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia* should

be

52 "be left in the quiet enjoyment of their liberty; and that "both the land and sea forces of the *Persians* should be kept "at such a distance from the *Grecian* seas, as not to give any "umbrage." *Stan.* V. 1. p. 291. the words of the treaty as recited by *Diodor. Sic.* L. 12. are, αὐτονόμους εἶναι τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ασίαν Ελληνίδας πόλεις ἁπάσας, τὰς δὲ τῶν Περσῶν σατράπας μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατωτέρω τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν, μηδὲ ναῦν μακρὰν πλεῖν ἐντὸς Φασήλιδος καὶ Κυανέων.

5 προστάτης] Προστάτης was the appellation of such citizens of *Athens* as undertook the care and protection of the Μέτοικοι or *Sojourners*; who were obliged to choose out of the body of Citizens some Patron in whose name all their business was to be transacted, and who in consideration thereof was allowed to demand several services of them. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 55. The expression therefore implies, that the *Athenians* ought to be considered in the same rank of superiority above the rest of the *Grecians*, as these Πρόσταται were at *Athens* in respect of the Μέτοικοι. So *Demosthenes* Olynth. 2. uses the word of those great Statesmen *Aristides*, *Miltiades* &c. under whose *Patronage* and Conduct the affairs of *Athens* were carried to the highest pitch of grandeur —— Τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ὑπὸ τούτοις χρημάτοις οἷς εἶπον προστάταις· —— §. 9.

5 ὧν ἕνεκα δεῖ μόνους &c.] *for which reason, they, the* Athenians, *have the justest pretensions to be considered as the principal of the* Grecian *States*,

8 ἀπολομένων δὲ τῶν νεῶν] *Adimantus* one of the *Athenian* Admirals was thought to have betrayed the fleet to *Lysander*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 441.

10 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ελλησιν] inasmuch as they were now exposed to the insolence of the *Lacedæmonians*, and no power remained sufficient to oppose the *Persians*, as is implied afterwards; tho' what ground there was for such intimation does not appear: No one certainly could be a greater curb upon the *Persians* than *Agesilaus* was.

13 ἑτέρων ἡγεμόνων χρωμένων] *for Others*, viz. *the* Lacedæmonians, *being now at the head of the affairs of* Greece ——

ib. νικήσαντες μὲν ναυμαχοῦντες τοὺς Ελληνας] *Isocrates*, whose *Panegyrick* is drawn upon much the same plan with this Oration of *Lysias*, specifies these victories of the *Persians* more particularly, νικήσαντες μὲν οἱ Βάρβαροι ναυμαχοῦντες, ἤρξαν δὲ τῆς θαλάττης, κατέσχον ἃς πλείστας τῶν νήσων, ἀπέβησαν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, Κύθηρα εἷλον, κρατοῦσι τῆς χώρας ἔλαυν, ἅπασαν δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καθ' ἡμᾶς ποιοῦντες διεπλάυσαν, p. 145. Edit. *Cant.* But it may be observed, that this was done under the conduct of *Conon*, who was so far from oppressing the *Grecian* Islands, &c. that he turned out the *Lacedæmonian* Governours, and set them free upon

52 upon the Democratical plan of Government: All this happened (according to *Xenophon* Ελλην. L. 4.) *after* the transactions, which *Lysias* proceeds to discant upon in the next paragraph: and therefore he properly enough makes use of the word ἐξήχθην *I have been carried out of the regular order of time*, p. 53. l.

18 κείρασθαι τὴν Ελλάδα] Tis well known to have been the custom among the *Greeks*, for those, who thought themselves obliged to express their grief or concern, to tear, or cut off their hair, and to shave their heads; and this was sometimes practiced by whole cities and commonwealths. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 197.

20 ὡς δυσχὴς] *so unhappy was* ——

22 ἑτέρων ἡγεμόνων λαχόμενος] *having got, or to do with, other commanders of* Greece.

53 4 συσπασθέντες] see *Plat.* 26. l. 21.

5 παῦλαν πολεμίων κεκτημένοι] referring to the smallness of their numbers, who engaged in the attempt to recover their liberty: According to *Nepos* they were at first only 30. according to *Xenophon* 70. Xenoph. Κ. Π. ζ. Ὡς γὰ μέντοι ἦλθεν ἡ δεινὴ ἀγχιλία, τὸ πάντως ἀνθρώπους (c. i. quàm plurimos) ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συλλέξασθαι.

6 ὅτε ὑπὸ νόμων ἀναγκαζόμεθα] inasmuch as the Constitution was subverted, and the law had thereby lost its proper efficacy.

9 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις] *viz.* for those who had gone into voluntary exile to avoid the Tyranny of the XXX.

10 πρὸς συμφορὰς αἰσχυνόμενοι] *actuated with a generous shame* (as p. 43. l. 23. *at their misfortunes*; namely, that the *Lacedæmonians* should be able to reduce them to so low a condition.

13 συμμάχους μὲν ὅρκους] see the Oath taken by the *Ephebi*. Note on *Plato* p. 34. l. 24. All the *Athenians* in the several tribes took the following Oath. "I will endeavour, with "my own hands, to kill that man, who shall dissolve the "*Athenian* Republick, or after its subversion shall bear any "office; and he shall be reputed by me wholly free from "guilt, in respect of the Gods or Dæmons, who shall take "away his life, or encourage another so to do; farther, in the "distribution of his goods, I'll pass my vote that the slayer "shall have half; and he, that in the attempt shall have the "misfortune to lose his life, shall with his heirs have due "respect and honour from me." *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 155.

ib. τὰ συνθήκας] When *Lysander* proposed to erect the Oligarchy of the XXX Tyrants at *Athens*, *Theramenes* alledged in opposition to his proposal, and read over the συνθήκας, *the articles of capitulation*, upon which *Athens* has surrendered to him,

53 him, one of which was ὅτι τῇ πατρίῳ σωτηρίᾳ πολιτείᾳ. *Diod. Sic.* L. 14. *ad Olymp.* 94. 1.

14 πολεμίους τοὺς ἐπέρεον ὑπαρχοντας] for the *Lacedæmonians* kept in *Attica* a ſtanding force to ſupport the Oligarchy which they had eſtabliſhed.

18 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων τάφους] Thoſe *Lacedæmonians*, who fell in this war, had the privilege of being buried in the moſt honourable place of ſepulture thro' the intereſt of their Countrymen, who ſupported the Government then eſtabliſhed in *Athens*. This honour was granted likewiſe by the oppoſite party to ſome *Thebans*. p. 54. l. 11. 16.

21 τείχη] ſee *Plat.* 28. 20.

23 οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν] ſee *Plat.* 27. 13. *not.*

54 4 ἀπελογίσαντο] *vindicated themſelves* from the imputation of wanting true bravery and virtue.

7 βίᾳ πειράντων Πελοποννησίων] *Lyſander* was ſent by the *Lacedæmonians* to ſupport the Oligarchy eſtabliſhed at *Athens*, who together with his brother *Libys* the Admiral blocked the *Piræus* by ſea and land; and thereby greatly diſtreſſed thoſe who had fled thither. *Pauſanias* likewiſe was ſent with another body of men to ſupport *Lyſander*. ſee *Plato* 26. 21. — 29. 24.

8 τὴν αὐτῶν] *viz.* πόλιν.

11 τοὺς ξένους] Thoſe *Thebans* who aſſiſted the Exiles againſt the 30 Tyrants.

12 τῷ πλήθει] for tho' the number which *Thraſybulus* had with him was comparatively but ſmall, yet it was the cauſe of the πλῆθος which he defended.

17 βοηθήσαντες Κορινθίοις] ſee *Plat.* 28. 5. —— 29. 24.

18 πολλῶν φίλων] The *Corinthians* had in moſt inſtances been faſt friends and allies to the *Lacedæmonians*. *Hind.* p. 141, 153, 410.

21 τῶ πολέμῳ ἔχθρας] *viz.* in the *Peloponneſian* war, when they acted againſt the *Athenians*.

55 2 τοῖς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων συμμάχοις] ſupply σύμμαχοι ἦσαν ἅπαντες, as l. 3.

3 νικήσαντες μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνους τῶν αὐτῶν ἔτυχον] *for it was always uſual with them when they came off victorious to admit others to the ſame privileges of freedom with themſelves.*

5 κατέλιπον] *whenever they miſcarried in their enterprizes, the conſequence was always fatal to the liberty of the* Peloponneſian *States.*

ib. ἐκείνοις] the *Corinthians.*

7 ἐκεῖ] The *Athenians* who went to their relief.

11 ἐπανώρθωσαν] *viz* in the *Corinthian* war under the command of *Iphicrates*; by whoſe extraordinary conduct and ſkill in military

55 military affairs a ſtop was put to the progreſs of the *Lacedæmonian* arms. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 8.

12 δυσχρήσαντα] ſee *Plat.* 40. 6.

ib. πόρρω δ' ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν] (viz. χώρας) for the ſeat of the war lay chiefly about *Corinth*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 79.

19 πάντα ἂν ἐλάττονος τὸ ἀξιοῦν] cuncta putas unâ virtute minora. Hor.

22 πολλῶν καὶ δεινῶν ὑπαρχόντων] *notwithſtanding that age is expoſed to a variety of ſad inconveniences, ζηλῶ I think them happy in this reſpect that* ——

56 9 πότερον οὖν ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς; ἀλλὰ τότε αὐτῶν ἀκὴς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας μεμνῆσθαι] q. d. *ſhall I endeavour to alleviate their concern by repreſenting, that the calamity is not at all peculiar to themſelves, but extended to the whole community as well as them? but this will be endeavouring to procure a remedy to one evil by running into another, it will raiſe in the reſt of my audience the uneaſy remembrance of thoſe misfortunes.*

18 ὥσπερ οἰκείοις] *ſhew the ſame regard and value for them as they*, viz. their own children, *would have done.*

57 2 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι δεῖ] i. e. οἶδ' ὅτι οὐ δεῖ.

3 ὃ γὰρ ἐλαυθάνομεν &c.] *Cic. Tuſc. Diſput.* L. 3. Anaxagoram ferunt nuntiatâ morte filii dixiſſe, Sciebam me genuiſſe mortalem. Vid. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. L. 3. c. 2.

4 ἃ πάλαι προεπεδεξάμεν &c.] *Cic. ib.* Quoniam multùm poteſt proviſio animi et præparatio ad minuendum dolorem, ſint ſemper omnia homini humana meditata.

5 ἦ λίαν ὕστερ &c.] Hom. Il. ζ.

Δαμασίλη, μή μοι τι λίην ἀκαχίζεο θυμῷ
Οὐ γάρ τις μ' ὑπὲρ αἶσαν ἀνὴρ ἀϊδι προϊάψει.

7 οὔτε γὰρ τὰς πενήτας &c.] Hom. de Hectore. ib.

Μοῖραν δ' ὑπιόν φημι πεφυγμένον ἐμμεμαῶτα ἀνδρῶν,
Οὐ κακὸν, ἐσθλὸν, ἐπὴν παπτήνῃσι μάχηται.

12 ἡ φύσις καὶ νόσων ἡτίων καὶ γήρως] *our Nature is ſuch as muſt neceſſarily yield to the attacks of diſeaſes and old-age.*

22 ἀγῶνες —— ῥώμης, καὶ σοφίας] ſee *Plato* p. 35. 7.

23 καὶ πλούτῳ] referring to the great charges which private perſons were at in celebrating theſe feſtivals, vying with each other in the ſplendour of their preparations.

ὡς ἀξίους] N. Accuſ. abſolute.

24 ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους] —— *the ſame honours, as the immortal Gods* ——

25 τῷ θανάτῳ] (viz. ἴσην.)

58 *HYPERIDES* was an *Athenian* Orator, contemporary with *Demoſthenes*, but ſuppoſed not to have been ſo hearty in the real intereſt of his country (ſee *Stan.* V. 2. p. 252.) However, he was very active in its ſervice upon the death of *Alexander*, and was appointed to ſpeak the funeral Oration over *Leoſthenes* and thoſe who fell in the *Lamian* war, as we learn from *Diod. Sic.* B. 18. Four years after he was ſeized by the command of *Antipater*, and put to death.

The fragment here reprinted is preſerved by *Stobæus* Serm. 123. with *Hyperides*'s name affixed to it in the margin. Whether it was part of the Funeral oration above-mentioned is uncertain: From the expreſſion τοὺς περὶ τῶν θείων καταλυομένους βοηθήσαντας it ſhould ſeem to refer to ſome war undertaken upon a *religious* account. One of which kind happened in his time, namely, the *Phocian* or *Sacred* War; in which the zeal of one ſide was inflamed by the cry of *Religion*, and of the other by that of *Liberty*. The *Athenians* indeed took the latter party; but if the character of *Hyperides*, above referred to, be a juſt one, there is no improbability of his having in his younger years been a Panegyriſt upon thoſe who fell in ſupport of the *Phocian* intereſt, which had its advocates, as *Demoſthenes* repreſents alſo *Philip* to have had, among the then *Athenian* Orators.

The funeral Oration under the name of *Demoſthenes* is thought to be ſpurious. (ſee *Taylor Lect. Lyſiac.* p. 681.

NOTES

UPON

The Extracts from *Xenophon*.

CYRUS, the younger, being killed in his attempt to dethrone his elder brother *Artaxerxes*, K. of *Perſia*, the *Grecian* Mercenaries, who attended *Cyrus* in that Expedition, were reduced to great difficulties by the treachery of their Aſiatick Comrades, who immediately went over to *Artaxerxes*, and inveigled almoſt all the *Grecian* Commanders into the hands of the *Perſians* under pretence of a truce and pacification: By whom they were put to death.

59 5 ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν &c.] *viz.* in the war which was terminated by the victories of *Lyſander* about 3 years before.

8 ἀδικεῖσι τὺς Ελληνας] The *Lacedæmonians*, having ruined the power of the *Athenians* by *Lyſander*, now affected the title of Guardians and Protectors of *Greece*. The whole coaſt of *Thrace* was lined with *Grecian* Colonies ſettled there for the advantage of Commerce. No wonder therefore if we hear of mutual jealouſies and injuries paſſing between the old inhabitants and theſe new ſettlers.

9 Εφόρων] The *Ephori* were Magiſtrates at *Lacedæmon*, five in number (*Suid.*), appointed originally to be Inſpectors under the Kings, and the ſupreme Council of State, as the Tribunes were among the Romans; but by degrees their Authority roſe ſo high as to controul them and all other Officers whether Military or Civil. Their Sentences were final and admitted of no appeal, and were by them immediately carried into execution. ſee *Xenoph.* περὶ Λακεδαιμ. πολιτείας, *C. Nepos* in *Pauſan.*

13 πολῶν] *the Spartan Magiſtrates.* The Scholiaſt. on *Thucyd.* B. 1. gives this for the reaſon of the appellation, διὰ τὸ αὐτὺς πὸ πολὺ πᾶς πρέγμασι πρῆναι.

15 ἀλλαχοῦ] *viz.* in the firſt B. of the Ανάβασις.

16 μυρίας Δαρεικάς.] The *Daric* was a piece of money ſo called from *Darius*, named in Scripture *Darius the Median* (the ſame with *Cyaxares*, Father in Law to *Cyrus* the Elder.) It is probable that he cauſed it to be made at *Babylon* out of the vaſt quantity of Gold which had been brought into his Treaſury,

59 ſury, as the ſpoils of war which He and *Cyrus* had been long engaged in; from whence it became diſperſed all over the Eaſt and alſo throughout *Greece*; where it was of great reputation; the Gold being exceeding pure with very little alloy in it. It weighed according to Dr *Bernard* 2 grains more than one of our Guineas, but, on account of its fineneſs, might be worth 25*s.* ſee *Dr. Prideaux Connect.* P. I. B. 2.

19 λπὶ τύτῳ ἐφερε ἓ ἦλν αὐτός·] *After that* (after having conquered them in battle) *he haraſſed and plundered them.* ſo in Latin *Ferre et Agere.* H.

60 7 ἐς παιδικὰ] τῶτο πινὲς ἐπὶ ἀρχαδῖ ἔρωτ@, πινὲς δὲ ἐπὶ αἰχροῦ λαμῶάνεσι. *Schol. ad Thucyd.* L. 1. —— ἐπὶ ἡλειῶν κ ἀῤῥένων ἐρωμένων τάτεται ἡ λέξις —— ὡς δὲ ἐπιπολὺ, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσελγῶς ἐρωμένων. *Phavorin.* Hæc autem dictio (v. Budæum Comm. L. G. p. 177.) ab amoribus puerorum ad honeſtum amorem et voluptatem inculpatam tranſlata eſt: adeo ut alicujus tam res quælibet quàm homo dicatur *παιδικὸ*, quam quémve in deliciis habet. *Hutch.* ſee alſo *Potter* Archæolog. B. 4. Ch. 9.

8 πολεμικὸς] i. e. *ἱκανὸς πολεμίζειν Bello idoneus.* Adjectiva, quæ terminationem hanc ſortita ſunt, id plerumque denotant ad quod ſuſcipiendum perficiendumque ſubjecta ſunt idonea, apta, propenſa. ſic ἀρχικὸς eſt ἄρχειν ἱκανός. v. *Hutchinſon ad l.*

13 ἀρχικὸς —— ὡς δυνατὸν. ὂν τῇ τοιύτῳ τρόπου οἷον κ ἐκεῖν@ ἔχειν] *fitted for Government and Command, extremely ſo, in conſequence of his turn of mind and temper.*

20 καὶ γνώμῃ ᾗ ἐκόλαζεν.] *tho' he was ſometimes paſſionate and exceſſively ſevere in his puniſhments, yet he inflicted them upon a ſettled determined principle* ——

61 22 Γοργίᾳ] *Gorgias* of *Leontium*, in *Sicily*, was celebrated for his principles of Policy and for his addreſs in applying the powers of Oratory. After having ſignalized himſelf at *Athens* by pleading the cauſe of the *Syracuſans* and ſucceſsfully imploring the aid of the *Athenians* (*Diodor. Sic.* B. 12.) he was much reſorted to as a treaſury of uſeful and polite learning, and at great premiums communicated his knowledge in Eloquence and Policy. His pay was ſometimes no leſs than 100 Minæ or 10000 Drachms; (322 *l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*) *Iſocrates* was one of his Scholars. See the character of his Oratory given by *Cicero. Orat.* n. 175. *Cicero* reports that after diſplaying his Oratory in the *Olympick* and *Pythian* Games he had a golden ſtatue erected to his honour at *Delphos.*

24 μὴ ἠπῶσθαι εὐεργετῶν] *having qualified himſelf by real abilities and ſervices to make an ample return to any Great men, who ſhould admit him to their friendſhip.*

3 τύτων

62 3 τούτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν — ὡς —] *But however earneſtly deſirous he was of theſe things —— yet ——*

23 στέργων δὲ φανερὸς &c.] *He manifeſtly ſhewed himſelf to have no ſuch thing as real affection for any perſon ——*

63 1 κατηγέλα] *he deſpiſed — or treated with contempt ——*

4 μόνος ἤετο εἰδέναι —] *unus omnium exiſtimavit ſe ſcire —— piqued himſelf upon his having a peculiar addreſs and abilities to ——*

7 ὁσίους καὶ ἀληθείαν ἀσκοῦσιν] *men of conſcience, acting under the awful reverence of a ſupreme Being, and ſteering their conduct by the maxims of Truth.*

8 ἀγάλλεται] *rejoices in.*

11 μὴ πανοῦργον] *a man that had his ſcruples about carrying an affair thoro' ſtitch, right or wrong ——*

15 ἠξίου] *he claimed, aſſerted his pretenſions to a ſuperior degree of Honour and Reſpect ——*

17 κατέλιγεν] *he threw it in his teeth, he reproached him with this as a kindneſs actually conferred, that in employing him in his ſervice, he had not contrived ſo as to deſtroy him.*

12 ἐξεῖν —] *it may be, that falſe accounts have been given of ſome of the more ſecret parts of his life and converſation.*

20 Ἀριστίππῳ] Of this *Ariſtippus* ſome account is given Ανα. B. 1. He was a man of ſuperior note, and aimed at Deſpotiſm in his diſtrict, but being oppoſed in his ambitious aims, in order to retain his ſuperiority, he applied himſelf to *Cyrus*, who aſſiſted him by a liberal donation, ſufficient for raiſing an Army of 4000 men ; which he intended, afterwards, ſhould ſhould ſerve his own purpoſes.

20 διεπράξατο] *he procured* (inſinuating that he did it by ſome ſhameful compliances,) *for himſelf a General's command, tho' he was but a ſtripling.* ὡραῖος ——

24 ἀποθνησκόντων τῶν φατνῶν] *When the Generals were put to death ——*

64 5 ὡς πονηρὸς *as a Villain ——*

6 πελάτης τυχεῖν] *obtained his releaſe from life ——*

NOTES

UPON

The Extracts from *Cicero.*

PHILIPPIC. IX.

THE whole ſet of Orations, which *Cicero* ſpoke againſt *M. Antonius* upbraiding him with his perſonal vices, and pernicious deſigns againſt the common Intereſts of his Country, have had this name given to them in alluſion to thoſe Orations, whereby *Demoſthenes* endeavoured to animate the *Athenians* againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*, as having projected and well nigh executed the plan for conquering and enſlaving *Greece*.

By way of Argument to the foregoing extracts it may be proper to premiſe thus much, that,

Soon after the death of *Julius Cæſar*, *M. Antonius*, a ſoldier and favourite of his, found himſelf prompted both by his Ambition and Expenſiveneſs to form a ſcheme of ſucceeding Him in his Sovereign Dominion, and in the oppreſſion of his Country's Liberty: This he conducted with ſurprizing vigour and addreſs.

D. Brutus, a man of large fortune, and one who, having been highly favoured by *Cæſar*, was regarded with particular abhorrence by the enemies of liberty for the ſhare he took in *Cæſar*'s Aſſaſſination, exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to defeat the ſchemes of *M. Antonius*. —— He had been nominated by *J. Cæſar* to the Government of *Gallia Ciſalpina:* To this he retired ſoon after the death of *Cæſar*, and declared hoſtilities againſt *M. Antonius* by forbidding him entrance into it. But finding himſelf unable to oppoſe *Antonius* in the field, he threw himſelf with all his forces into the ſtrong Town of *Mutina*, which was thereupon beſieged by *Antonius*. —— An Embaſſy was appointed to carry to him the peremptory commands of the Senate to quit the ſiege of *Mutina*, and to deſiſt from all hoſtilities: The perſons nominated thereunto were *S. Sulpicius*, *L. Piſo*, and *L. Philippus*. — *Ser. Sulpicius* was at that time in a very declining ſtate of health, and died when they were juſt arrived at *Antonius*'s camp. — Soon after, *Panſa*, one of the Conſuls, called the Senate together to deliberate on ſome proper honours to be decreed to the memory of

of *S. Sulpicius:* He adviſed to pay him all the honours, which had ever been decreed to any, who had loſt their lives in the ſervice of their Country; a publick funeral, ſepulchre, and ſtatue: In this motion he was ſupported by *Cicero (Phil.* 9.) and in this reſolution the Senate concurred.

D. Brutus, who continued near four months beſieged in *Mutina*, was reduced to great ſtraits, but defended it with the greateſt reſolution. *Hirtius*, one of the Conſuls, had already marched to his relief at the head of a brave army, and particularly of the *Martial* and *Fourth* Legions, which were eſteemed the flower and ſtrength of the whole. *Octavius Cæſar* had the year before been very active in ſolliciting his uncle *Jul. Cæſar*'s ſoldiers into his ſervice, and had drawn together a firm and regular army of Veterans completely furniſhed with all the neceſſaries for preſent ſervice. The command of which was afterwards aſſigned to him by authority of the Senate, upon condition that he ſhould employ all his forces in defence of the common liberty, and particularly of *D. Brutus* and his Accomplices. Accordingly he joined his forces to thoſe of *Hirtius*; and not long after, the other Conſul *Panſa* ſet out to join them with his new raiſed army, conſiſting of four Legions. But when he was advanced within a few miles of *Hirtius*'s camp, *Antonius* privately drew out ſome of his beſt troops with deſign to ſurprize him on the road before that union, and to draw him, if poſſible, to an engagement againſt his will. Upon which a general action enſued, wherein *Antonius* loſt the greateſt part of his Veteran troops, two Eagles, and ſixty ſtandards; but however he regained his Camp, hoping to make himſelf maſter of *Mutina*, as the place was reduced to great extremity, and his works ſeemed ſtrong enough to prevent any relief being thrown into it. But *Hirtius* and *Octavius* attacked him in his intrenchments and forced him to a general battle, wherein he was at length defeated and the place relieved.

Ser. Galba, one of the Conſpirators againſt *Cæſar*, gave *Cicero* a particular account of the firſt Action, *Ep. Fam. X.* 30. Other Letters alſo arrived ſeverally from the two Conſuls and *Octavius*, which raiſed an incredible joy at *Rome*; and the day following, the Senate being ſummoned by *Cornutus* the Prætor, to deliberate upon the Letters of the Conſuls and *Octavius*, *Cicero* delivered his Opinion as it ſtands in the fourteenth Philippick; which was ratified by the Senate. *See* Dr *Middleton*'s Life of *Cicero*.

65 6 luctu publico] It was uſual with the *Romans* on any diſaſtrous event, by which the common welfare was endangered, to teſtify their ſenſe of it, and thereby to rouſe one another up to compenſate the miſchief by extraordinary

65 nary efforts of Patriotism. This was a rational, and, probably, the original design of Publick Mournings.

18 censeo] This was the legal term made use of by *Roman* Senators, when they had formed their Opinions into a Motion.

ib. Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemoniâ, Rufus.] Moris fuit, ut cum aliquis civis Romanus ostendendus sit, significaretur aut a Prænomine suo, aut a Nomine, aut a Cognatione, aut a Tribu in quâ censeretur, (*adde et* a Cognomine) aut a Curia, aut a Censu. *Ascon. in Cic.* We have this account here exemplified in the 5 first particulars. *Servius* (Prænomen, quod singulorum proprium est) *Sulpicius* (Nomen gentilitium, multis Gentis et Familiæ causâ commune;) *Q. F.* (Quinti Patris Filius) *Lemoniâ* (Tribu Lemoniâ, in quâ censebatur. Tribûs autem nomen ablativo casu plerumque ponitur.) This was one of the Rustick Tribes so called from the Village of *Lemo* not far from the *Porta Capena*, in which *Sulpicius* probably possessed some estate. *Rufus* (Cognomen, quod plerumque ab actione aliquâ, vel a corpore, vel a moribus inditum est.) vid. *Pitisci. Lexic.*

20 Auctoritatem Senatûs] Auctoritas in genere est cum aliorum consiliis, jussis, voluntati libenter obedimus. Sometimes *Auctoritas Senatûs* stands contradistinguished from the *Senatûs consultum:* viz. when the Act was patronized indeed by a Majority of the Senators, but was hindered from passing into an Obligatory Act, either by the interposal of a Negative by a Tribune &c. or for want of a proper number to ratify the Act.

66 10 statuam pedestrem in Rostris] in that part of the Forum where the *Rostra* stood; which as being most frequented and most conspicuous was the most honourable spot of ground that could have been chosen.

12 circum eam statuam locum ludis gladiatoribusque] sc. *ludis gladiatoribusque spectandis.* Five feet round the Statue in all directions might be sufficient for the purpose of Seeing Sights, but very incompetent for exhibiting them. Excepting in the case of some peculiar privilege granted by the Senate, Places at publick Games were seized promiscuously without any regard to Rank and Station. —— The practice of assigning to persons distinct places in the Theatres according to their Rank as Patricians Knights and Plebeians, was introduced A. U. C. 559. —— The *Circus* was still left open to All.

19 locent) *contract with* some Artist or Undertaker.

20 redemptori] Redemptores sunt, qui cum quid publice faciendum aut præbendum conduxerant effecerantque, tum denique pecunias accipiebant. *Festus.*

66 24 quam ampliſſime] with all the pomp and grandeur of ceremony that was made uſe of at the interment of moſt eminent perſons. ſee Kennet. Antiq. P. 11. B. 5. and the Authors there referred to.

ib. ſupremo die ſuo] In the caſe of indictive and publick Funerals the carrying forth of the Body to its Funeral was performed on the 8th day after the Perſon's death. *Serv.* in *Æneid.* v. 65.

28 Ædiles Curules edictum] Theſe Ædiles choſen out of the Nobility (it is well known) had the inſpection and regulation of publick Games and other matters of publick Ceremony.

67 6 uti quod optimo jure &c.] a quaint formality of Law-expreſſion to give validity to the Grant.

12 Supplicationes ex literis] After obtaining any remarkable advantage in War, the General commonly gave the Senate an account of it by Letters wreathed about with Laurel, in which he deſired the favour of a *Supplicatio* or ſolemn proceſſion to the Temples of the Gods; this being granted for a ſet number of days, the Senate went in a ſolemn manner to the Temples; Sacrifices were offered, with publick Feſtivities. *Kennet* P. 2. B. 4.

17 Imperatores appellem] Though this Title was given, upon any remarkable ſucceſs, to the General by the Acclamations of the Soldiers in the Camp, yet to enſure the Title a Decree of the Senate was neceſſary. *ib.*

21 Hoſtes judico] as no longer deſerving the name of Citizens, but Enemies to their Country. ——— The *Roman* Senate often by a Vote fixed this appellation as a ſtain of Ignominy on thoſe who took up arms againſt their Country, deſerted its Intereſts and ſervice, or attempted to overturn the Conſtitution.

25 alterum nomen beneficii &c.] *viz.* that of Conſul.

68 10 legione Martiâ — Quarta — &c.] Legions for diſtinction's ſake were denominated either from the Order in which they were raiſed, Firſt, Second &c. or from the Place where they were ſtationed, *Germanica*, *Britannica* &c. or from the Generals, as, *Auguſta*, *Claudia* &c. or from ſome particular Character, *Martia*, *Victrix*, *Ferrea*, *Fulminatrix* &c.

27 qui Cæſaris beneficia ſervâſſent] who had managed their domeſtick concerns ſo well as to have preſerved the Largeſſes given them by Cæſar, and not ſquandered them away. It was uſual with Generals in the Provinces to reward ſuch of their Soldiers as deſerved well, with Donations of Land &c. and to ſecure their title at their return to Rome, *referre eos in beneficiis ad ærarium* to regiſter them in the publick Treaſury:

ſury: No one was more liberal in this particular than *Juliur Cæſar*. But thoſe Soldiers, whoſe title was thus confirmed, were at liberty to part with their property.

69 1 Hirtius ipſe aquilam] In caſes of extraordinary difficulty it was not unuſual for the General himſelf to take the Standard into his own hands and lead the Soldiers onward to the Enemy —— nothing appearing ſo diſgraceful to the *Roman* Soldiery as to ſuffer their Standard to be taken by the Enemy *ſee Cæſar*: de *B. Gall.* L. 4.

4 huic Jovi Maximo] the Senate at this time was aſſembled in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

14 Ætas certe ejus &c.] *Octavius* (afterwards *Auguſtus*) *Cæſar* was at the time here ſpoken of about 20 years old, having been born A. U. C. 690. This motion of *Cicero*'s was made A. U. C. 710.

29 monumentum ampliſſimum] *Monumentum* differt a *Sepulcro*, in quo corpus conditum eſt; *Monumentum* eſt quodcunque opus aut ædificium tranſmittendæ ad Poſteros memoriæ cauſâ factum: cujuſmodi hodie Romæ extat *C. Ceſtii* Monumentum e Marmore quadrato. v. Pitiſc. Lex.

71 13 Mars in acie fortiſſimum quemque pignerari ſolet] ſibi quaſi ſuos aſſumere. Nam in acie fortiſſimi quique moriuntur. Manut.

14 nunc vero ſanctiſſimi] By this ſolemn Act of the Senate they were, in a manner, Sainted and Deified. *Sancti* was one of the Attributes of the Gods.

72 29 diſperſis buſtis crematos] the *Puticuli* without the Eſquilinian gate were the place allotted for burying of the Bones and aſhes of perſons of the loweſt rank, who had no private place of their own for burial.

contectos] the honour of being buried within the City was not granted to any (the Veſtal virgins excepted) but by a publick Decree of the Senate.

73 3 Ara virtutis] cui inſcribetur elogium, eorum virtutem immortalitati conſecrans. Solebant enim in locis, ubi victoria erat parta, locari Aræ, quibus inſcribebantur res in illo loco geſtæ, & illorum laus, quorum virtute res geſtæ erant. *Græv.* This is a true account of the matter of fact. But *Cicero*'s thought in the uſe of this expreſſion is much more ſpirited. The virtues of theſe brave men had, he tells his hearers, in a manner deified them, and juſtified the erecting Altars to their honour.

13 cum tempus venerit] 'tis probable from the ſubſequent ſucceſſes of *Antonius* that the time of putting theſe Decrees of the Senate in execution never came.

73 23 Legiones tironum] Legions formed out of Recruits newly raiſed: —— tho' theſe undoubtedly included likewiſe many Veterans, to inſtruct the novices in their military duty.

24 occiſione occiderit] thoroughly routed and deſtroyed.

74 16 Prætor urbanus] The Conſuls being at this time abſent, the *Prætor urbanus*, or One of them was poſſeſſed of the Supreme Juriſdiction. Probably the *Prætor Primus* or He who was firſt Elected. At firſt there was but *One*, elected by the People voting in their Centuries; Afterwards, as the Dominion and Affairs of *Rome* encreaſed, the number was gradually enlarged to *Eight*; and by *Julius Cæſar* to *Sixteen*.

75 5 monumentum locandum] ſee p. 66. 19.

ib. Quæſtores urbis] as having the charge of the Publick Treaſury, and being intruſted with Receipts and Diſburſement of Publick Monies.

To the Catalogue of Books proper to be conſulted for Athenian and Roman Antiquities might be added, two Others, which are now antiquated, but in their times were not undeſervedly welleſteemed, and are ſtill very uſeful for Claſſical Expreſſions relative to thoſe ſubjects, viz. Seven Books of the *Attick* Antiquities by *Fran. Rous* and *Zach. Began.* 4to.

An Expoſition of the Roman Antiquities by *Tho. Godwin.* 4to.

A Chronological Table.

Year of the World.		*Year before Christ.*
1656	NOAH *is preserved in the Universal Deluge.*	2348
1988	*Abraham born.*	2016
2107	*The Destruction of Sodom.*	1897
2244	From the first peopling of *Attica* 'till the time of *Ogyges*, we have no account of any thing that passed there. —— And of his times we know little more than that *Attica* was wasted so much by a deluge as not to recover itself for near 200 years.	1760
2370	*Joseph dies.*	1634
2428	*Moses born.*	1576
2448	*Cecrops* an *Ægyptian*, having married the daughter of *Actæus* King of *Attica*, built the City; which was afterwards the Citadel, calling it *Cecropia*. He introduced a Form and Ceremonial of Religion into the Country.	1556
	The number of Kings in *Attica* is reckoned to be 17; they reigned in all 487 years.	
2492	*Deucalion*'s flood.	1512
	Amphictyon the son of *Deucalion*, having married the daughter of *Cranaus* King of *Attica*, deposed him and usurped his throne; and was 10 or 12 years after himself deposed by *Erichthonius*, a foreigner, who introduced the use of silver mony.	
2508	*Israelites depart out of Ægypt.*	1496
2547	*Moses dies.*	1457
2550	*Cadmus* fl.	1454
2568	*Pandion* son of *Erichthonius*, was the first king who held the throne in right of succession.	1436
2608	* *Erectheus* succeeded *Pandion*. He had war with the *Eleusinians*, who were assisted by *Eumolpus* king of *Thrace*.	1396
2657	*Cecrops* II. gathered the people of *Attica* into twelve burroughs: to him succeeded	1347
2698	*Pandion* II. and to him	1306
2723	*Ægeus.*	1281
2772	*Carthage* built by a Colony of *Tyrians.*	1234

Year of the World.		*Year before Chriſt.*
2781	* *Theſeus* new modelled the State, and brought the inhabitants of *Attica* into one City, which he	1223
2785	named *Athenæ*. In his time happened the *Theban*	1219
2797	and the *Amazonian* war.	1207
2788	* *Hercules* dies.	1216
2801	* *Euryſtheus* is ſlain.	1203
2821	The *Trojan* war ended.	1183
2816	*Jeptha judges Iſrael.*	1188
2823	*Æneas* comes into *Italy*.	1181
2900	* The *Heraclidæ* by means of the *Athenians* recover poſſeſſion of *Peloponneſus*.	1104
2904	*Samuel judges Iſrael.*	1100
2934	* The *Heraclidæ* invade *Attica*. *Codrus* king of *Athens* throws away his life for the welfare of his country.	1070
2936	After which the ſupreme Magiſtrate in *Athens* was no longer called *King*, but *Archon*. *Medon*, the ſon of *Codrus* was the firſt of this title. There were 13 of them in ſucceſſion during 312 years.	1068
2944	*David begins his reign.*	1060
2960	* The *Athenians* ſent out large Colonies on the maritime coaſts of *Aſia minor*.	1044
2988	*Solomon begins building the Temple.*	1016
3093	*Homer dies.*	911
3122	*Lycurgus* gives Laws to the *Lacedæmonians*.	882
3228	The vulgar Æra of the *Olympiads*. (But N.B. this was really the 1ſt year of the 28th Olympiad, or 108 years after the reſtitution of the Olympian Games by *Iphitus*.)	776
3248	The *Athenians* reduce the adminiſtration of the *Archons* to a *decennial* office. —— Of thoſe, who bore it, there were ſeven. The firſt named *Charops*, in laſt *Eryxias*.	756
3252	*Rome* built.	752
3281	*The Captivity of the ten tribes of Iſrael.*	723
3318	The office of *Archon* is reduced to an *annual* office, executed by nine perſons; one of them bearing the Title: The firſt who bore it was *Creon*.	686
3381	*Draco* preſcribes his Laws, remarkable for their ſeverity.	623
3396	*The Captivity of Judah.*	608
3411	* *Solon* undertakes to reform the State and the Laws of *Athens*.	593
3432	*Anacreon* flouriſhes.	572
3441	*Æſop* put to death at *Delphi*.	563

Year of the World.		*Year before Chriſt.*
3444	*Piſiſtratus* takes advantage of the factions into which the ſtate of *Athens* was divided, and ſeizes the Government; which he did not get quiet poſſeſſion of 'till ſixteen years afterwards; He held it 17 years by himſelf; as his ſons did 18 more after him.	560
3456	* *Cyrus* brings all *Aſia minor* under his Dominion, having been called out of *Perſia* by his uncle *Cyaxares* king of *Media* to aſſiſt him againſt the *Babylonians*.	548
3460	* — ſubdues *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, and *Arabia*.	544
3462	* — marches into upper *Aſia*, and reduces it.	542
3465	* — returns into *Aſſyria*, and takes *Babylon*: then placing his uncle *Cyaxares* (called in Scripture *Darius the Mede*) on the throne of *Babylon*, he makes an expedition into *Syria*.	539
3467	* *Cyaxares* dies; and *Cyrus* ſucceeds in the whole Empire; *and releaſes the Jews from their Captivity*; *iſſues a Decree to rebuild the Temple*.	537
3475	* *Cyrus* dies; and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Cambyſes*.	529
3478	* *Cambyſes* invades *Ægypt*; and conquers the whole Kingdom.	526
3480	* *Cambyſes* makes an expedition againſt the *Æthiopians*, and returns his loſs.	524
3482	— dies. — The *Magians* ſeize the Kingdom.	522
	* *Hipparchus*, who ſucceeded his father *Piſiſtratus* in the Tyranny of *Athens*, is ſlain by *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*: and is ſucceeded therein by his brother *Hippias*.	
3483	* The *Magians* are ſlain; and *Darius* ſon of *Hyſtaſpes* is choſen king of *Perſia*.	521
3484	*Pindar* born.	520
3489	*The ſecond Temple finiſhed*.	515
3491	* *Darius* invades *Scythia*; and loſes half his army: but ſubdues *Thrace*.	513
3494	The *Scythians* ravage *Thrace*, and drive *Miltiades* out of the *Cherſoneſus*.	510
3495	* *Hippias* is driven from *Athens*.	509
3498	* *Darius* ſends a fleet down the *Indus* to diſcover *India*; which he afterwards invades and conquers.	506
3501	* The *Perſians* under the command of *Ariſtagoras* of *Miletus* make a fruitleſs attempt upon *Naxos*.	503
3502	* The *Athenians* enter into a Confederacy with	502

Year of the World.		*Year before Chriſt.*
	the *Ionians* againſt *Darius*; and the next year equip a fleet of 20 ſail in conjunction with 5 Gallies of *Eretria*; and burn *Sardes*.	
3507	The *Perſians* reduce the revolters in *Ionia*.	497
3509	They reduce the *Helleſpont* and parts thereabout, and force *Miltiades* to flee from thence to *Athens*.	495
3510	* *Mardonius* is ſent by *Darius* to make war againſt *Greece*, but miſcarries in the expedition. *Sophocles* born.	494
3511	* *Darius* continues his preparations againſt *Greece*; and ſends a large force under *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, who poſſeſs themſelves of the *Cyclades*, and ſtorm *Eretria*.	493
3513	* They invade *Attica*, but are defeated at *Marathon*.	491
	* *Miltiades* is ſent to chaſtiſe the Iſlands, which ſided with the *Perſians*.	
3520	* *Darius* reſolves to invade *Greece* in perſon; but dying leaves the proſecution of the war to his ſon and ſucceſſor *Xerxes*.	484
3519	*Euripides* born.	485
3521	*Herodotus* the Hiſtorian born.	483
3524	* *Xerxes* paſſes in *Helleſpont*, and marches into *Greece*: is oppoſed at *Thermopylæ*; but at length forces his paſſage, and waſtes *Attica* with fire and ſword. — His numerous fleet receives a defeat from the confederate fleet of *Greece* at *Salamis* under *Themiſtocles*: — as afterwards did his	480
3525	Land-army near *Platæa*. — In *Ionia* the *Perſian* force are defeated by thoſe of *Greece*, on the very ſame day on which the battle was fought at *Platæa*, near *Mycale* by land; and afterwards at *Ægos-potamos* by ſea.	479
3526	* The *Athenians* reconvey their families from *Salamis* into *Attica*, and rebuild their walls, and fortify their harbour of *Piræus*.	478
3527	* The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* jointly purſue the war againſt the *Perſians*.	477
	* The *Ionians* having revolted from the *Perſians* put themſelves under the protection of the *Athenians*.	
3534	* *Cimon* ſcours the *Aſiatick* ſeas, and defeats the *Perſian* fleet at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*: and the ſame day landing his men routs their Land-army; and afterwards makes	470

Year of the World.		*Year before Chriſt.*
3535	many other conqueſts on the *Helleſpont.*	469
	* The *Athenians* employ part of their fleet in the ſervice of *Inarus* king of *Libya*, who had drawn *Ægypt* to revolt againſt the king of *Perſia.* — and proceed with ſucceſs.	
3538	*Themiſtocles* poiſons himſelf.	466
3541	*Xerxes* king of *Perſia* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Artaxerxes Longimanus.*	463
3546	*Lyſias* born.	458
3547	*(Ezra comes to Jeruſalem.)*	457
3547	* The *Athenians* have frequent skirmiſhes with the *Corinthians* and *Æginetans*; under *Myronides* the intirely defeat the *Corinthians.*	457
	* They engage with the *Lacedæmonians* near *Tanagra*, and are worſted: — but ſoon after re-	
3548	turn the blow at a place called the *Oenophyta* or Vineyards.	456
	* They likewiſe ſubdue *Ægina*, and render it tributary.	
3549	* Under *Tolmides* they haraſs the coaſts of *Laconia* and *Corinth:* but in *Ægypt* their forces are diſtreſſed and vanquiſhed.	455
3551	* *Cimon*, after a baniſhment of five years, is recalled home, and makes up a peace with the *Lacedæmonians.*	453
3554	The *Decemviral* is Authority eſtabliſhed at *Rome*, and abrogated within two years.	450
3555	* The *Athenians* ſend *Cimon* with a great fleet to *Cyprus*, where he engages the *Perſian* forces both by ſea and land with great ſucceſs; and	449
3556	dies.	448
3559	* The *Athenians* are inſulted from various quarters; reinſtated by *Pericles.*	445
3561	*Nehemiah ſucceeds Ezra in the Government of Jeruſalem.*	443
3563	*Herodotus* publickly recites his hiſtory.	441
	Euripides fl.	
3564	* The *Athenians* under the conduct of *Pericles* ſubdue the *Samians.*	440
3566	* The *Corinthian* war.	438
3573	* The *Peloponneſian* war begins. — The *Peloponneſian* confederates invade *Attica.* —— The *Athenians* exert themſerves chiefly at ſea againſt the coaſts of *Peloponneſus*, with ſucceſs. —— and after the return of the *Peloponneſians* out of *Attica* invade *Megaris.* *Pericles* ſpeaks his funeral Ora-	431
3576	tion. —— dies.	428

Year of the World.		*Year before Chriſt.*
3577	* *Lesbus* revolts from the *Athenians* —— The	427
3578	*Athenians* recover it by beſieging *Mitylene*; ſeize their ſhipping, raze their walls and confiſcate the eſtates of the revolters.	426
	The *Lacedæmonians* make repriſals upon the inhabitants of *Platæa*.	
	* The *Athenians* engage on the ſide of the *Leontines* in their quarrel againſt *Syracuſe*.	
3580	* They ſeize *Pylus* in *Laconia*, and diſtreſs the *Lacedæmonians* in the iſland *Sphacteria*.	424
	Ariſtophanes flouriſhes.	
3583	*Braſidas* gives a ſucceſsful turn to the *Lacedæmonian* affairs. — They and the *Athenians* come to terms; but the reſt of the *Peloponneſian* confederates being diſguſted therewith, the quarrel is renewed.	421
3586		418
3590	* The *Athenians*, by the advice of *Alcibiades*, undertake an expedition againſt *Syracuſe*.	414
3592	They are defeated and purſued with great ſlanghter.	412
	* The *Lacedæmonians* conclude a league with the king of *Perſia*, which is followed by the revolt of the principal cities of *Ionia* from *Athens*.	
3593		411
	* Several places on the *Helleſpont* likewiſe revolt; but are ſoon reduced to their obedience.	
3594	* The *Athenians*, in order to carry on their military affairs with more diſpatch in thoſe diſtreſſing times, conſent to alter the Conſtitution of their Government, and place it in the hands of 400, who abuſe their power in acts of tyranny and oppreſſion. This is followed by various factions and tumults in the City, and by the revolt of *Eubœa*.	410
	* The *Lacedæmonians* take an advantage of theſe difficulties. But the *Athenians* recovering from their diſorder and conſternation, fit out a	
3596	fleet under *Thraſyllus* and *Thraſybulus*, and defeat the *Lacedæmonians* in three ſeveral ſea-engagements, at *Cynoſſema*, *Abydus* and *Cyzicus*.	408
3598	A fleet is ſent out under *Alcibiades*; which being defeated by *Lyſander* in his abſence from it, he falls into diſgrace.	406
	* *Conon* in commiſſion with 9 others ſucceeds him in his command, and defeats *Callicratidas*	
3599	the *Lacedæmonian* at *Arginuſſæ*.	405
3600	* *Lyſander* taking advantage of *Conon*'s abſence,	404

Year of the World.		*Year before Christ.*
	entirely defeats the *Athenian* fleet at *Ægos-potamos*; and ſoon after marches to *Athens*, and beſieges it, and reduces it to a ſurrender: demoliſhes their fortifications, eſtabliſhes an *Oligarchical* government of 30 perſons; commonly known by the name of the 30 *Tyrants*.	
3601	*Theramenes* exerts himſelf in oppoſition to the Tyrants; but is put to death.	403
3603	* *Thraſybulus* raiſes a party againſt them, and at length effects the reſtoration of the Democracy.	401
3604	* *Cyrus* (the younger) his Expedition againſt his Brother *Artaxerxes:* is killed.	400
3605	*Socrates* is put to death.	399
3907	* The *Lacedæmonians* quarrel with the *Eleans* for ſiding with the *Athenians* againſt them.	397
3609	* *Ageſilaus* makes a ſucceſsful expedition into *Aſia* againſt the *Perſians*.	395
3610	* The *Perſians*, in order to divert the *Lacedæmonians* from purſuing their conqueſts in *Aſia*, ſpirit up a Confederacy of *Thebans*, *Argives* and *Corinthians*, and, at length, the *Athenians* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. — The *Lacedæmonians* gain	394
3611	two Victories over the Confederates by land, one near *Sicyon* not far from *Corinth*; and the other under *Ageſilaus* near *Coronea* in *Bœotia*. — But *Conon* at the head of the *Perſian* fleet defeats them by ſea near *Cnidus*.	393
3612	* Some of the *Corinthians* inclining to peace with the *Lacedæmonians*, civil diſſenſions inſue, with mutinies and maſſacres. —— *Ageſilaus* and *Teleutias* for a time carry all before them on the ſide of the *Lacedæmonians*; but *Iphicrates*, the *Athenian* General, defeating the *Lacedæmonian* forces at *Lechæus*, recovers the ground that had been loſt.	392
	* At this time the Cities of *Aſia*, under the *Lacedæmonian* juriſdiction, expell the *Lacedæmonian* Governours.	
3613	*Pharnabazus* and *Conon* make a deſcent on the coaſts of *Laconia* and ravage them. —— *Conon* afterwards ſails to *Athens*, repairs the Haven of *Piræus*, and rebuilds the walls.	391
3614	* The *Lacedæmonians* finding the war at their own doors, and the *Athenians* likely to reap the advantage of it, ſend *Antalcidas* to treat with the	390

Year of the World.		*Year before Christ.*
	Perſians about a Peace; offering to give up the *Grecian* Cities in *Aſia*. —— The *Athenians* and their Allies taking the Alarm endeavour to counteract their deſigns: The *Perſians* play them one againſt the other.	
	The baniſhment of *Camillus* from *Rome*.	
3615	*Thraſybulus* is killed in his expedition to *Rhodes*; after having reduced ſeveral places in the *Helleſpont* &c. for the ſecurity whereof *Iphicrates* is ſent out by the *Athenians* with a conſiderable force.	389
	Rome burnt by the *Gauls*.	
3616	*Chabrias* ſubdues the *Æginetans*: and is ſent to the aſſiſtance of *Evagoras* K. of *Cyprus*. —— The *Lacedæmonians* make their advantage of his abſence, and ſurpriſe and ſink ſeveral of the *Athenian* ſhips in their harbour.	388
3618	* By this time the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were ſo far tired with haraſſing each other, that they acquieſced in a peace upon the following terms, that "All the cities of *Aſia* with the "iſlands of *Clazomenæ* ſhould be under the ju- "riſdiction of *Perſia*: That the iſlands of *Lem- "nus*, *Imbrus* and *Scirus*, as having time imme "morial been ſubject to *Athens*, ſhould continue "ſo; and that all other Cities of *Greece* ſhould "be free."	386
	The *Lacedæmonians*, under the notion of Guarantees of the Peace, behave inſolently towards ſeveral States who had taken part againſt them in the late wars.	
3621	(*Ariſtotle* born)	383
3623	They ſeize the Citadel of *Thebes*, which they held four years, and with it the Dominion over *Bœotia*; but were then diſpoſſeſſed by the bravery of *Pelopidas*.	381
3624	(*Demoſthenes* born.)	380
	The *Athenians* are exaſperated againſt the *Lacedæmonians* for their having laid a deſign to ſurpriſe the *Piræus*; they enter into a confederacy with the *Thebans*, and ſend *Chabrias* to traverſe the deſigns of *Ageſilaus* in *Bœotia*, in which he ſucceeds by keeping upon the defenſive: —	
3632	and afterwards defeats the *Lacedæmonians* by ſea: as did the next year	372
3633	*Timotheus* the ſon of *Conon*.	371

Year of the World.		*Year before Chriſt.*
	The *Thebans* take advantage thereof, and drive the *Lacedæmonians* out of *Bœotia*; and joining with the *Athenians* reſtore ſeveral cities of *Greece*, particularly in *Peloponneſus*, to their independency.	
	The *Athenians* grow jealous of the *Theban* power, and propoſe a general accommodation. But diſputes ariſing, the *Thebans* are excluded; and the *Lacedæmonians* left at liberty to turn their whole force upon them.	
3634	An engagement inſues near *Leuctra*, in which the *Lacedæmonians* are routed by the conduct of the *Theban* General *Epaminondas*.	370
3637	The *Thebans*, upon the credit of this victory, draw ſeveral other leſſer States into their alliance, and carry their arms into *Peloponneſus* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*.	367
3636	The *Athenians* oppoſe a ſecond attempt of *Epaminondas* to enter *Peloponneſus*: He forces the paſs of the *Iſthmus*; but is ſoon after driven back by *Chabrias* the *Athenian* General.	368
	The *Thebans* are again called into *Peloponneſus*, by a party of the *Arcadians*. — The *Athe-*	
3642	*nians* and *Lacedæmonians* oppoſe them with their united forces, but loſe the victory in a general engagement near *Mantinea*.	362
	Epaminondas the *Theban* General is ſlain, and with him ſinks the *Theban* power and greatneſs.	
	A general peace throughout *Greece*.	
3643	*Ageſilaus* K. of *Lacedæmon* dies.	361
3645	*Xenophon* dies. —— *Philip* is declared K. of	359
3646	*Macedon*. —— defeats the *Athenians* at *Methone*, and ſeizes *Amphipolis*, *Pydna* and *Potidæa*.	358
3647	The *Athenians* reduce *Eubœa*. —— *Chabrias* is killed.	357
3648	The *Phocian* or *ſacred* war breaks out.	356
3649	*Alexander* the Great is born.	355
3650	*Demoſthenes* begins to ſignalize his Talents of Oratory.	354
3657	*Plato* dies.	347
3659	The *Phocian* war ended by *Philip*'s interpoſition.	345
3662	*Ariſtotle* comes to the court of *Philip* and is made Præceptor to his ſon *Alexander*.	342
3367	*Iſocrates* dies.	337
	Philip defeats the *Athenians* at *Chæronea*	

Year of the World.		*Year before Christ*
3669	*Philip* is killed.	335
3681	*Alexander* dies.	323
3686	*Demosthenes* dies.	318
3725	*Pyrrhus* victorious over the *Romans*.	279
3744	The *Romans* build a fleet of Ships, and the next year obtain a victory at sea over the *Carthaginians*.	260
3786	*Hannibal* passes over the *Alpes* into *Italy*.	216
3802	*Scipio* vanquishes him in *Africa*.	202
3814	*Antiochus* conquered by *M. Æmilius*.	190
3822	*Hannibal* poisons himself.	182
3829	(*History of the Maccabees begins.*)	175
3836	*Perseus* K. of *Macedonia* subdued.	168
3858	*Carthage* destroyed by *Scipio Æmilianus*.	146
3871	*Attalus* leaves his Dominions by Will to the *Romans*.	133
3883	*Polybius* the Historian dies.	121
3897	*M. T. Cicero* born.	107
3901	*Marius* triumphs over *Jugurtha*.	103
3905	*C. J. Cæsar* born.	99
3916	*L. Sylla* distinguishes his military talents.	88
3918	*M. Cicero* pursues his Oratorical studies under *Molon*.	86
3919	*L. Sylla* brings *Mithridates* to terms.	85
3923	*C. Julius Cæsar* distinguishes his military Genius in *Asia*.	81
3927	*M. Cicero* after spending some time at *Athens* goes into *Asia* to improve himself in Oratory.	77
3928	*Julius Cæsar* goes to *Rhodus* for the same purpose.	76
3933	*L. Lucullus* sent against *Mithridates* and conquers him.	71
3935	——— subdues *Tigranes*.	69
3938	*Cn. Pompeius* sent to succeed *Lucullus*.	66
3941	*Cicero* frustrates the traiterous Conspiracy of *Cataline*.	63
3946	—— is banished by the *Clodian* Faction but recalled.	58
3956	*J. Cæsar* gains a compleat victory over *Pompey* at *Pharsalia*.	48
3960	—— is killed Id. i. e. 15 *Mar.*	44
3961	*M. Cicero* speaks his fifth and other Philippicks, and is soon after assassinated by Order of the *Triumviri, Octavius, Antonius* and *Lepidus*. 7 Id. i. e. 7 *Dec.* Aged 64.	43

FINIS.